

TENSE AND MOOD VARIATION IN SPANISH NOMINAL SUBORDINATES: THE CASE
OF PERUVIAN VARIETIES

BY

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DISSERTATION

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ABSTRACT

Peruvian Spanish has been described as a group of different varieties, in particular because of the degree of influence of indigenous languages. In the Andean region, contact between Spanish and Quechua has given rise to both monolingual and bilingual varieties of Andean Spanish, which present distinct characteristics. At the same time, however, Andean and non-Andean varieties share some features of Andean grammar due to intense dialect contact within the country (A.M. Escobar 2000, 2007, 2010; Caravedo and Klee 2005; O'Rourke 2005; Muntendam 2009) and reinforced by constant migrations from the Andes to the coast and to the capital since the first half of the 20th century. Considering this particular sociolinguistic situation, the dissertation aims to study the unique variation phenomena of the region and explore the contact hypothesis regarding its origin.

The study focuses on two linguistic features that play an important role in Spanish dialectology and the configuration of Peruvian varieties in particular. First, variation in tense is analyzed in Spanish nominal subordinate clauses with verb types that require subordinate verbs in subjunctive mood (e.g. *quiero que vengas* “I want you to come”), and both verbs (the main and the subordinate) with the same tense (*quería que vinieras* “I wanted (PAST) you to come (PAST)”). Although other Latin American dialects allow present tense in the subordinate clause with main verbs in past tense (Sessarego 2010, Suñer and Padilla-Rivera 1987), it is considered to be more frequent in Peruvian Spanish (Sessarego 2008). In Peruvian varieties, this variation is found with different verb types, including verbs that are flexible in regards to this requirement (factive- emotive, such as *alegrarse* “to be happy” and *lamentar* “to be sorry”) and verb types that are considered the strictest (desire, such as *querer* “to want,” and lack of knowledge, such as *ignorar* “to not know”). Variation in mood, the second variable, is also considered in the study, since this is a feature found in Peruvian Spanish as well. It has been stated that bilingual speakers in Quechua-Spanish regions show a tendency to favor the indicative mood, even in contexts where the subjunctive is expected (*quería que viniste* “I wanted (IND.) you to come (IND.)”).

Four groups of speakers were considered from three Peruvian Spanish varieties: Spanish spoken by Quechua speakers in the Andes and two Spanish varieties spoken in Lima, the capital.

The last two varieties differ from each other in the sociolinguistic background of their speakers: one group lives in an area mainly inhabited by Andean migrants and the other lives in an area with no strong migrant background. The fourth group, included as a control group, is made up of speakers of Mexican Spanish living in Mexico City.

High school students ($N = 93$) completed an oral production task that had stories with past contexts. Three linguistic factors were considered: the verb type in the main clause, the time of the event in the subordinate clause, and the degree of knowledge of the speaker. The Quechua-Spanish bilingual group also answered a Spanish proficiency test, which further distinguished them into two subgroups: intermediate and advanced level speakers. A perception task was also given to a subgroup of each group of speakers, to better understand the degree of acceptability of these two types of variation.

Results showed that although past subjunctive answers were preferred in all groups, present subjunctive was used in a higher percentage than in the control group, and with events that were only possible in the past, considered ungrammatical in standard Spanish. Moreover, bilinguals did not have the highest percentages of present subjunctive among the Peruvian groups, which could suggest that this type of variation is not reinforced by the contact with Quechua.

Nonetheless, the bilingual group from the Andes showed more variation than the other groups with respect to mood. They not only alternated between past and present in the subjunctive form, but also showed higher percentages of use of the indicative and conditional mood. Within this group, the intermediate-level subgroup was the one that produced more non-subjunctive answers, whereas the advanced group performed similar to the non-Andean groups from Lima. Thus, the results suggest that mood variation among these bilinguals is a result of the process of acquisition of Spanish as a second language.

To my parents, Flor del Río and Mario Crespo

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This dissertation focuses on three varieties of Peruvian Spanish and aims to evaluate whether those varieties show similarities or differences with regard to two particular phenomena. The comparison among the three varieties included in the study is based on the fact that many linguistic features in Peruvian Spanish are widespread within the country due to the social situation of the country and the constant contact among speakers from different social backgrounds. Furthermore, within these different backgrounds, it is imperative to consider the role of other languages. One of these languages is Quechua, the most spoken indigenous language in Peru (and the Americas). In regions where both Spanish and Quechua are present, particular characteristics have emerged and, in many cases, have spread to other regions that are mainly monolingual in non-Andean Spanish.

1.1 Topic of the dissertation

In my study, I take into account one Quechua-Spanish bilingual (second language or L2) variety and two Spanish monolingual varieties. The three groups are different from each other in sociolinguistic terms. Hence, I analyze the similarities and/or differences between these varieties with respect to how tense and mood vary in nominal subordinate clauses. Previous research in Peruvian Spanish has shown that speakers tend to prefer present tense in past nominal subordinate clauses, whereas speakers of other varieties would prefer past tense.¹ Examples in (1) compare what Peruvian Spanish speakers (a) and other speakers would produce (b).²

- (1) a. Quería que me visites la semana pasada
want-1Sg.Past.Imp.Ind that 1Sg.Acc visit-2Sg.Pres.Subj the week past
“I wanted you to visit me last week”

¹ Cfr. Sessarego (2010)

² A list of abbreviations used in the glosses is provided in Appendix H.

b. Quería	que me	visitaras	la semana pasada
want-1Sg.Past.Imp.Ind	that 1Sg.Acc	visit-2Sg.Past.Subj	the week past

“I wanted you to visit me last week”

Sentence (1b) shows that past subjunctive is used based on the fact that the main verb is in past tense as well, following the *Concordantia Temporum* Principle. This Principle states that the subordinate verb tense must share the same tense with the main verb (Gili Gaya 1948), which is expected in standard Spanish. Contrary to standard Spanish, this Principle is not followed by the varieties studied in this dissertation, as sentence (1a) shows. There are other dialects of Spanish that produce sentences like (1a) (e.g. Mexican Spanish); however, variation in those varieties is not as frequent as in Peruvian ones.

Pilot versions of my study found that speakers in the Andean region, who are Quechua-Spanish bilingual (L2) speakers, can also produce other grammatical moods (and not subjunctive) in the subordinate clause, as examples in (2). In sentence (2a), the subordinate verb is in indicative mood, whereas in (2b), it is in conditional mood.

- (2)
- | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------|--------------------|
| a. Quería | que me | visitaste |
| want-1Sg.Past.Imp.Ind | that 1Sg.Acc | sleep-3Sg.Past.Ind |
- “I wanted you to visit me”
-
- | | | |
|-----------------------|--------------|----------------|
| b. Quería | que me | visitarías |
| want-1Sg.Past.Imp.Ind | that 1Sg.Acc | sleep-3Sg.Cond |
- “I wanted you to visit me”

Thus, the present study aims to find how both types of variation (variation in tense and variation in mood) are produced in Peruvian Spanish varieties, taking into consideration both monolingual and bilingual speakers. I want to see whether the two variation phenomena are present because of an influence from Quechua, the main indigenous language in Peru. I propose this possibility with regard to variation in tense due to the characteristics of nominal subordinate clauses in Quechua, which suggest that

bilingual speakers follow Quechua morpho-syntactic features when producing these clauses in Spanish.³ In this case, Quechua influence would reinforce the phenomenon, which is also present in non-Peruvian dialects where the Andean language is not spoken. With respect to variation in mood, I want to confirm whether or not Quechua is a relevant factor, since previous literature has stated that bilingual speakers prefer to produce indicative as a default grammatical mood even in contexts where subjunctive is expected.

Thus, my study must be approached from two main linguistic areas: language and dialect contact. On the one hand, if one or both types of variation are found to be present in all Peruvian groups, constrained by the same linguistic features, but much more frequently in bilinguals, I can strongly argue that language contact is relevant for my study given that an influence from Quechua is proposed as an account for the phenomena. On the other hand, it is necessary to see whether or not both variation types are present in all varieties of Peruvian Spanish. My study includes three different varieties in order to confirm if all speakers produce tense and mood variation. If one or both types of variation are found to be widespread throughout all the varieties included, I can strongly argue that dialect contact is playing a role in the diffusion of these phenomena, regardless of whether or not speakers are bilingual.

Furthermore, the two monolingual groups included in the study live in the same city, but have different sociolinguistic backgrounds based on the place of origin of their families and neighbors. I analyze their social networks in order to say something about the degree contact that they have with other varieties of Spanish.

³ Described in the Literature Review chapter

1.2 Objectives and significance of the study

As it was mentioned, variation in tense can be found in other dialects of Spanish (mostly from Latin America; see Chapter 2), but what makes Peruvian varieties different is the high frequency of this variation. Therefore, I aim to find reasons why this phenomenon seems to be expanding in these dialects. Are there specific linguistic factors in this dialectal area that have an influence on tense variation? In relation to these factors, how do varieties of Peruvian Spanish differ from other Latin American varieties, such as the Spanish spoken in Mexico City?

Previous studies in tense variation have shown, in a very broad perspective, that Peruvian Spanish in general is a dialect where variation is very common. However, there have not been any hypotheses regarding why this type of variation occurs more frequently in that geographical area. Taking Peruvian Spanish as a singular, uniform dialect leads only to general conclusions. It does not take into consideration differences between varieties in the country.

In Peruvian Spanish varieties, it is necessary to consider variation in mood as well, because some speakers produce non-subjunctive verbal forms in contexts where subjunctive is expected in standard Spanish. Again, my study aims to find whether this second type of variation is present in any Peruvian variety or if it is a particular phenomenon concerning the bilingual situation in the Andean region. I want to see if the dialectal differences between Peruvian varieties can be reflected in these types of variation and what can be inferred from those differences.

Studies on Quechua-Spanish bilinguals and linguistic results of the contact between these two languages have shown that variation in mood is a tendency in the Andean region as well. Nevertheless, not all of those studies have specified whether this variation applies to any type of speaker, i.e. learners of Spanish as a second language, native speakers of both Quechua and Spanish, monolinguals living in the Andean region, etc. Thus, my study provides more detailed information about the types of speakers from

the Andean region. In the same sense, I expect to find which linguistic factors favor mood variation.

In order to understand how my study contributes to the research of both phenomena, it must be considered that, first, not all dialects of Spanish produce variation in tense in the same way and it is necessary to see what factors play a role in specific varieties. Second, variation in mood is not a common phenomenon in other dialects, it is even considered ungrammatical by native speakers (and it is also ungrammatical within standard varieties). Thus, considering that language contact is a strong determinant of how Peruvian Spanish varieties are shaped, it is relevant to research whether contact is a favoring factor that contributes to the presence of both types of variation in the area. Moreover, my results could suggest what other areas of investigation are relevant to explain them, such as second language acquisition and/or sociolinguistics.

1.3 Organization of the study

The remainder of the dissertation is organized in five main chapters and a conclusion. Chapter 2 is the literature review, where I present an overview of how language contact has had an influence on other morpho-syntactic features of Peruvian Spanish varieties. Two sections emphasize tense and mood variation in Spanish and summarize previous findings about both phenomena. Research questions are presented.

Chapter 3 presents the sociolinguistic background of the study. This chapter gives a detailed description of each region included in the study; first, I take a look at dialect contact in Lima, Peru (the capital), where two of my four groups of speakers live, and how this type of contact is created by the social characteristics of the city. Then, I describe one of the bilingual regions of the country, where my third group lives. Finally, it is necessary to take into account a brief description of the region where my non-Peruvian control group lives (Mexico City, Mexico) and to explain why this group was chosen as the control group.

Chapter 4 is the methodology chapter. Particular characteristics of the members of the four groups are detailed in the first section, thus creating a link between their sociolinguistic background and the region where they live (described in Chapter 3). The three linguistic factors of the study are explained in the next section of the methodology chapter, with deeper information about why they are relevant for my study. After all factors are presented, I introduce all tasks carried out in my study. Lastly, I specify how data are collected and coded, and how results are analyzed.

Chapter 5 describes the results of the study. I present quantitative results, including statistical analyses that are important to answer my research questions, for my three linguistic factors. Results from different tasks are included to provide answers to my research questions. As the results are presented by distinguishing the linguistic varieties, discussion regarding the contact hypothesis is also presented.

Chapter 6 is a discussion chapter that analyzes the results presented in the previous chapter, in the light of each linguistic factor and by linguistic variety.

Chapter 7, the conclusion chapter, presents an analysis of the role of language and dialect contact in the linguistic variation in Peru. It addresses the answers to my research questions, regarding variation in tense, variation in mood, and the contact hypothesis. It also addresses the implications of my study for contact linguistics and second language acquisition research. Lastly, I provide an evaluation of the limitations of the study and future research that can be carried out.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

In this chapter, a description of the linguistic context of the study is presented. The focus of my study is morpho-syntactic variation in a Latin American Spanish region. Latin American Spanish has been described as composed of highly differentiated varieties, many of which have been shaped by the influence of indigenous languages spoken in the respective areas (Lipski 1994), including the Peruvian varieties – the focus of this dissertation.

Within these linguistic differences, numerous morpho-syntactic phenomena can be described in order to distinguish one variety from the other. Some examples of morpho-syntactic variation, according to Silva-Corvalán (2001), are variation within the null subject parameter and different word orders, among others. Within verbal forms and their grammatical features, previous research has shown that linguistic changes can take place as well. For instance, Torres Cacoullos (1999) studies the addition of new aspectual meanings to *estar* + gerund in the Spanish of Mexico City: whereas this construction commonly expresses progressive aspect, in her data, it also expresses habitual aspect, such as in “*uno está trabajando allá*” (“one is working there”) in response to “*Y sus hijos a qué se dedican?*” (“What do your kids do for a living?”).

This dissertation is particularly focused on Peruvian varieties of Spanish. It aims to explore variation phenomena unique to the region, and explore the hypothesis of contact regarding its origin, which is that many variation phenomena in this region might have emerged as a result of the contact between Spanish and Quechua.

One of the most used terms in this study is “variation,” and it is used in two different ways: on the one hand, the study focuses on both variation in tense and variation in mood, meaning that it analyzes the use of an innovative or non-standard form in contexts where the norm or standard form is expected. For instance, results are presented in terms of how much participants produced the standard form and, if this form is not

present in every context, how much other forms (i.e. how much variation) are produced instead. Thus, I take the verb of the subordinate clause as the linguistic variable of the study, with two general variants: past subjunctive verbs and non-past subjunctive verbs.

On the other hand, variation is understood in the sense of change in progress. This study aims to find how frequent innovative forms are produced in order to see if there is a change taking place in one or more of the dialects being considered. The study of variation lets us identify how changes are produced, their causes, how they are spread in the community, and which social and/or linguistic factors have an influence on them (Silva-Corvalán 2001). Because many linguistic features in Peruvian Spanish have been spread throughout varieties due to both language and dialect contact, as it is shown in this chapter, I can also evaluate the possibility of contact as a trigger or reinforcement of the change in progress.

Therefore, in the first section of this chapter, I present examples of morpho-syntactic phenomena that have emerged in the Andean region and are claimed to have originated in the contact situation between Spanish and Quechua. The second and the third sections focus on the two types of variation considered in the study, variation in tense and variation in mood, in nominal subordinates. Within each of those sections, I provide a review of the previous literature for Spanish in general and for Andean Spanish. Finally, the fourth section presents a description of the grammatical aspects of Quechua that are relevant for this study, since I am proposing that language contact has an influence on the two types of variation studied.

2.1 Morpho-syntactic variation in Quechua-Spanish contact

As it has been mentioned before, many dialectal differences in the Spanish spoken in Latin America have been attributed to contact between Spanish and indigenous languages from the respective region. De Granda (1994) describes a set of features in Paraguayan Spanish that have emerged due to the contact between Spanish and Guaraní. For example, agreement between nouns and adjectives is unusual because of the

influence of Guaraní, a language that lacks gender morphemes for both nouns and adjectives, e.g. *camisa blanco* “white (masc.) shirt (fem.)”.

De Granda also mentions cases of reinforcement, where already existing features in Spanish have stayed in Paraguayan varieties due to the contact with Guaraní. One of these cases is the use of the preposition *en* (“in”) to express directionality, like in *fui en la iglesia* (“I went to church”), where standard Spanish would require *a* (“to”). The author explains that this was a common characteristic of Spanish in general until the 16th century, but it has been maintained in Paraguay because of a similar feature in Guaraní: the postposition *-pe/-me* expresses both directionality (*aha tupaópe* “I went to church”) and location (*jaiko ñane retãme* “we live in our country”).

In the case of the Spanish and Quechua contact in the Andean region, extensive research has been done with regard to morpho-syntactic characteristics that have emerged from contact. For instance, the sentence order with the verb as the last element is a common phenomenon in the Spanish of bilinguals,⁴ as examples (3) and (4) show. Following A.M. Escobar (2000), this non-canonical order in Spanish is not only due to the flexibility of the language in accepting other syntactic orders (apart from the canonical SVO), but also due to the influence of the canonical SOV order in Quechua, which is shown in example (5).

- | | | | | |
|-----|---------------------------------------|------------------|-------------------|---------------------|
| (3) | Porque | poca preparación | tiene | (A.M. Escobar 2000) |
| | because | little expertise | have-3Sg.Pres.Ind | |
| | “Because he/she has little expertise” | | | |

⁴ Although it can also be found in monolingual speakers from the Andean region

- (4) Varios cuentos puedo decir pero en castellano
 many stories can-1Sg.Pres.Ind say-Inf but in Castilian

difícil es (Zavala 1999)

hard be-3Sg.Pres.Ind

“I can tell many stories but it is hard (to tell them) in Spanish”

- (5) Payman mikuyta apachkani (Soto Ruiz 2012)
 he/she-Dat food-Acc take-Prog.1SgPres

“I am taking food to her”

A.M. Escobar (2000) suggests that not only the objects tend to be moved before the verbs, but also the prepositional phrases, in particular the spatial and temporal.

Another morpho-syntactic construction that has been proposed to be a result of Quechua-Spanish contact is the lack of agreement between noun and adjective, noun and determiner, and noun and pronoun in nominal phrases. In standard varieties, Spanish requires agreement of gender and number between the elements previously mentioned. However, in the Andean region, agreement is not always marked, as examples (6) and (7) show. A.M. Escobar (2000) argues that the phenomenon is connected to the different stages of the process of acquisition of Spanish as a second language, since most examples are found in native speakers of Quechua who speak Spanish as a second language. However, some cases are also found in native speakers of Andean Spanish (Zavala 1999). Zavala (1999) suggests that it is a transfer from Quechua, which is a language that does not require gender or number agreement, as sentences in (8) show.

- (6) La escuela nocturno (A.M. Escobar 2000)
 the (fem.) school (fem.) nocturnal (masc.)

“the adult education center”

- (7) Con sus músicas tradicional de allá (Zavala 1999)
 with their music (pl.) traditional (sg.) of there

“with their traditional music”

- (8) a. Ñañay hatun warmim
 sister-1Sg.Gen big woman-Ev
 “My sister is a tall woman”
- b. Turiy hatun runam
 brother-1Sg.Gen big man-Ev
 “My brother is a tall man”

Other morpho-syntactic features are connected to markers of subordinate sentences. A.M. Escobar (2005) proposes the grammaticalization of *que* (“that”) from a subordinate marker to a discourse marker in Andean Spanish, and the origin of *Limeño* Spanish *de que* (“of that”) to Quechua influence; hence this last feature has an Andean origin as well (A.M. Escobar 2007).

Thus, it is possible to see that features developed from contact distinguish Andean Spanish from other varieties of Spanish. In a more recent study, A.M. Escobar (forthcoming) focuses on a construction that appears to be similar to that found in other dialects, e.g. the double genitive construction in Andean Spanish (see example 9).

- (9) **Su** casa **de** mi mamá
 her house of my mom
 “my mom’s house”

She proposes that this minority construction in standard Spanish (used only for clarification of the human possessor) has become a majority construction in Andean Spanish and extended its use to possessive constructions with inanimate possessed nouns. A.M. Escobar also proposes that this construction has grammaticalized in Andean Spanish to express an (in)alienable relationship and attributive function (functions in the grammaticalization trajectory found in languages of the world), and that it is connected to genitive and N+N constructions in Quechua, as in example (10). In her comparative study, she finds these constructions in non-Andean normative Peruvian Spanish as well.

- (10) Wallpa-pa uma-n
 hen-Pos head-3Sg.Gen
 “the hen’s head”

Other features in Spanish varieties in contact with Quechua are related to the verbal paradigm, referring to specific features regarding tense, aspect, and mood. For example, A.M. Escobar (1997) claims that the synthetic future is used to express evidential meaning in this variety. With this meaning, future indicates the source of information that the speaker presents. This construction appears when the speaker makes an inference about the event being described. A.M. Escobar proposes influence from Quechua, where epistemic morphemes are used to soften the expression of the speaker (the speaker does not assume responsibility for how accurate the information is), and are pragmatically highly relevant to communication. In example (11), the evidential suffix *-cha* is used to express conjecture, i.e. the speaker is not completely sure about the arrival of that person tomorrow.

- (11) Paqarin-cha chaya-mu-nqa (Soto Ruiz 2012)
 tomorrow-Ev. arrive-Dir-3Sg.Fut
 “‘She might arrive tomorrow”

According to A.M. Escobar (1997), example (12) shows how inferences are expressed in Andean Spanish. Although the speaker is from Pisac (a small town) and lives in Pisac, the speaker does not want to pretend to know the occupation of all its inhabitants. Therefore, she expresses uncertainty of the occupation of the people who live in Pisac, making an inference and using the synthetic future to express it.

- (12) [en Pisac, la gente] se dedicará pues de trabajar de los chacras
 in the people dedicate-3Sg.Fut of work of the farm
 (A.M. Escobar 1997)
 “‘In Pisac, the people must be dedicating themselves to work on the farm”

- (14) Quiere dormir
 want-3Sg.Pres.Ind sleep-Inf
 “She wants to sleep”

- (15) Creo que duerme
 believe-1Sg.Pres.Ind that sleep-3Sg.Pres.Ind
 “I believe that she is sleeping”

Sentences like (13) can be produced with either present or future tense in the main clause, while the tense of the subordinate verb will always be present. However, when the main clause expresses a past time event, the tense of the subordinate verb changes to the past tense in standard Spanish, just like in (16), although maintaining the subjunctive mood. This phenomenon is known as *Concordantia Temporum* or *Consecutio Temporum* (Gili Gaya 1948, Suñer and Padilla-Rivera 1987).

- (16) Quería que durmiera.
 want-1Sg.Past.Imp.Ind that sleep-3Sg.Past.Subj
 “I wanted her to sleep”

Many dialects of Spanish follow this standard pattern. However, there are some varieties that produce what has been called violations of *Concordantia Temporum* (Sessarego 2008), that is, variation in tense in the subordinate clause. This type of variation of tense has been reported in research focusing on either monolingual (Arrizabalaga 2009, Carrasco Gutiérrez 1999) or bilingual speakers (A.M. Escobar 2000, Farley 1965, Obaid 1967). One of the dialects where this type of variation in tense is present is Andean Spanish, as Sessarego mentions, “Andean dialects are famous in the literature for violating the rule of *Concordantia Temporum* resulting in sentences where the subjunctive verb encountered in a nominal subordinate clause is often found in a present form even though it conveys a past action” (2008:91). Sentence (17) illustrates how the subordinate verb in the subjunctive mood does not change to the past tense despite the fact that the main verb is in the past.

Table 1 Tense combinations by verb type

Verb Type in Main Clause	Tense in Main Clause	Tense in Subordinate Clause	Not accepted tense combinations
denial	[±past]	[±past]	none
factive-emotive	[±past]	[±past]	none
uncertainty	[-past]	[±past]	[+past]...[-past]
	[+past]	[+past]	
influence	[-past]	[-past]	[-past]...[+past]
	[+past]	[±past]	
desire	[-past]	[±past]	[+past]...[-past]
	[+past]	[+past]	
lack of knowledge	[+past]	[+past]	[+past]...[-past]

As it can be seen, the first and the second type, denial (e.g. *negar* “to deny”) and factive-emotive verbs (e.g. *alegrarse* “to be happy,” *lamentar* “to be sorry,” *sentir* “to be/feel sorry”), are the less strict in terms of accepting variation in tense in the subordinate verb. In other words, it is possible to find a [+past ... -past] sequence with them, such as examples in (18) and (19). Any tense in the embedded clause is accepted in combination with past tense in the main clause.

- (18) a. Negué rotundamente que sostenga vínculos con
 deny-1Sg.Past.Ind emphatically that maintain-1Sg.Pres.Subj links with
 el Partido Nazi. (Suñer and Padilla-Rivera 1987)
 the party
 “I denied categorically that I maintain ties with the Nazi Party”⁶

⁶ It is uncommon that the example given in the study shows co-referent subjects, since an infinitive verb in the subordinate clause would be more usual.

b. Negué rotundamente que haya sostenido vínculos
 deny-1Sg.Past.Ind emphatically that maintain-1Sg.Pres.Perf.Subj links

con el Partido Nazi. (Suñer and Padilla-Rivera 1987)

with the party

“I denied categorically that I have maintained ties with the Nazi Party”

c. Negué rotundamente que sostuviera vínculos con
 deny-1Sg.Past.Ind emphatically that maintain-1Sg.Past.Subj links with

el Partido Nazi. (Suñer and Padilla-Rivera 1987)

the party

“I denied categorically that I maintained ties with the Nazi Party”

d. Negué rotundamente que hubiera sostenido vínculos con
 deny-1Sg.Past.Ind emphatically that maintain-1Sg.Pluperf.Subj links with

el Partido Nazi. (Suñer and Padilla-Rivera 1987)

the party

“I denied categorically that I had maintained ties with the Nazi Party”

(19) a. Me alegré de que ella siga estudiando
 be happy-1Sg.Past.Ind of that she keep-3Sg.Pres.Subj studying
 “I was happy that she keeps studying”

b. Me alegré de que ella siguiera estudiando
 be happy-1Sg.Past.Ind of that she keep-3Sg.Past.Subj studying
 “I was happy that she kept studying”

With respect to uncertainty verbs (e.g. *dudar* “to doubt”), the third type, the [+past... -past] sequence is not accepted, as it is shown in sentence (20). Whereas sentence (20a) is acceptable because the embedded verb is in past tense, sentence (20b) is ungrammatical due to the same verb being in present tense.

- (20) a. Dudaba que estuvieran enfermos
doubt-1Sg.Past.Imp.Ind that be-3Pl.Past.Subj sick
(Suñer and Padilla-Rivera 1987)
“I doubted that they were sick”
- b. *Dudaba que estén enfermos
doubt-1Sg.Past.Imp.Ind that be-3Pl.Pres.Subj sick
(Suñer and Padilla-Rivera 1987)
“I doubted that they are sick”

The next verb type, verbs of influence (e.g. *ordenar* “to order,” *exhortar* “to exhort,” *exigir* “to demand”), is different from the previous one in the fact that it accepts the [+past ... -past] sequence,⁷ because of their lexical feature [+subsequent], according to the authors. This feature requires that the verb in the subordinate clause must be interpreted as subsequent in time to the verb in the main clause. For that reason, it is possible to find a subordinate verb in present subjunctive when the main verb is in the past, as in sentence (21).

- (21) El Presidente ordenó también al Departamento de la Defensa
the president order-3Sg.Past.Ind too to the department of the defense
- que incremente en todo el país el adiestramiento...
that increase-3Sg.Pres.Subj in whole the country the training
- (Suñer and Padilla-Rivera 1987)
- “The President also ordered the Defense Department that it increase in the whole country
the training...”

Regarding the last two verb types, desire (e.g. *querer* “to want,” *desear* “to wish,” *preferir* “to prefer,” *anhelar* “to yearn”) and lack of knowledge verbs (e.g. *ignorar* “to not know,” *desconocer* “to not be aware of”), they have similar constraints as for

⁷ In Table 1, the accepted combination is presented as [+past ...±past], which means that the subordinate verb can be either past or present subjunctive when the main verb is in the past.

uncertainty verbs. No [+past ... -past] sequence is allowed for those two types, as examples in (22) and (23) show.

- (22) a. Quería que telefonearas (Suñer and Padilla-Rivera 1987)
 want-1Sg.Past.Ind that telephone-2Sg.Past.Subj
 ‘I wanted that she would telephone’

- b. *Quería que telefones (Suñer and Padilla-Rivera 1987)
 want-1Sg.Past.Ind that telephone-2Sg.Pres.Subj
 “I wanted that she will telephone”

- (23) a. Ignoraba que estuviera en la lista
to not know-1Sg.Past.Imp.Ind that be-3Sg.Past.Subj in the roster
(Suñer and Padilla-Rivera 1987)
“I didn’t know that it was in the roster”

- b. *Ignoraba que esté en la lista
to not know-1Sg.Past.Imp.Ind that be-3Sg.Past.Subj in the roster
(Suñer and Padilla-Rivera 1987)
“I didn’t know that it is in the roster”

For this last verb type, Suñer and Padilla-Rivera add that the same constraints can be found in the construction *no saber* “to not know,” where the negation is not part of the verb meaning, but an operator preceding the verb. Similarities can be seen if sentences in (23) and (24) are compared.

- (24) a. No sabía que comieras fresas
no know-1Sg.Past.Imp.Ind that eat-2Sg.Past.Subj strawberries
(Suñer and Padilla-Rivera 1987)
“I didn’t know that you ate strawberries”

- b. *No sabía que comas fresas
no know-1Sg.Past.Imp.Ind that eat-2Sg.Pres.Subj strawberries
(Suñer and Padilla-Rivera 1987)
‘I didn’t know that you eat strawberries’

Given the constraints that each verb type shows with respect to the use of non-past tense in the subordinate clause, it is possible to consider that all types create a continuum based on their degree of acceptance of the [+past ... -past] sequence. On one side, denial and factive-emotive verbs are the most flexible in terms of acceptance, and desire and lack of knowledge verbs are the strictest in terms of accepting the variation on the other side. The only exception in the continuum is verbs of influence, which do allow variation in tense but are closer to the strictest type. This is due to their [+subsequent] feature, which makes it possible to accept non-past verbs in the subordinate clause.

In addition to this description, Suñer and Padilla-Rivera define that the time of communication (TOC)⁸ must be taken into account in the type of constructions studied. The time of communication (term used by the authors) is the moment when speakers report events; therefore, an event can be contemporaneous, anterior, or subsequent to this time. In [+past ... -past] sequences, the time of communication plays an important role in understanding why some sentences are considered grammatical despite the non-past verb in the embedded clause, like in (25) and (26). In these sentences, the main verb describes a past event and the subordinate verb presents an event that is still taking place (and will end in the future) or has not taken place yet, i.e. subsequent to both the main verb event and the time of communication. Because of this order of events, it is acceptable to use present subjunctive in the nominal clause.

- (25) Negó que sus subalternos acepten sobornos
 deny-3Sg.Past.Ind that his staff accept-3Pl.Pres.Subj bribes
 (Suñer and Padilla-Rivera 1987)
 “He denied that his staff accepts bribes”

⁸ Speech time

- (26) El médico recomendó que la niña no coma
 the doctor recommend-3Sg.Past.Ind that the girl no eat-3Sg.Pres.Subj

tantos productos lácteos. (Suñer and Padilla-Rivera 1987)

many products dairy

“The doctor recommended that the girl not eat so many dairy products”

However, it must be noticed that the examples given by the authors are not cases with the strict verb types of the continuum that they proposed. There are no examples with desire and lack of knowledge verbs, and Suñer and Padilla-Rivera do not mention if it is possible to find these verbs in present subjunctive, i.e. an event that is subsequent to the time of communication. On the contrary, this seems to suggest that it is not possible in standard varieties of Spanish.

Thus, Suñer and Padilla-Rivera attempt to present a description of how variation in tense is possible depending on the semantic class of the verb. Depending on the verb type used in the main clause, present subjunctive verbs can be accepted in the subordinate clause. Nevertheless, when looking at specific dialects of Spanish, the continuum of verb types proposed by Suñer and Padilla-Rivera is not followed exactly.

2.2.1 Studies in Andean and other Latin American dialects

Suñer and Padilla-Rivera’s description of semantic constraints on tense variation does not account for the high frequency of present subjunctive verbs in Peruvian varieties, for example, with verb types in the main clause that are supposed to require past tense in the subordinate clause. In his studies of 2008 and 2010, Sessarego confirmed that it is possible to find present subjunctive even with verb types that are considered strict in Suñer and Padilla-Rivera’s article.

In 2008, Sessarego analyzed 865 nominal subordinate clauses in both Peruvian and Bolivian Spanish. These were clauses found in written texts that were part of the CREA corpus (*Corpus de Referencia del Español Actual*). Texts were newspaper articles and books. As the author says, dialects must be considered by country, because there are

no references to the origin of speakers (journalists or writers). It can be assumed, however, that the writers are all educated. Nonetheless, since he does not qualify the newspapers and texts he chose, it is not clear if they are all written in a similar regional variety, since each country has internal dialectal variation. Sessarego focused on the cases where present subjunctive was not allowed by the time of communication, i.e. when the event in the nominal clause was not subsequent to that time, but anterior. When there was an ambiguous case, it was not included. Those specific cases—where present subjunctive was not allowed by the TOC—represent uses of present subjunctive that are different from other dialects and from the standard norm.

The study considered two extralinguistic factors, genre and dialect, and one linguistic factor, agentivity. Genre divided the texts into newspaper articles (press) and books (mostly novels), and dialect differentiated Peruvian and Bolivian Spanish; agentivity will be described below. For genre, the author found that 40% of the present subjunctive tokens were used in newspaper articles versus only 3% in books (taking both dialects together). The difference turned out to be statistically significant. Sessarego explains that literary book writers usually follow prescriptive rules more strictly, so that past subjunctive is expected to be more frequent in those texts.

With regard to dialect, variation in tense was found to be more frequent in the Bolivian Spanish data than in the Peruvian Spanish ones (37% vs 9%), a difference that was also statistically significant (although he does not mention if there was a similar number of tokens in both dialects). Again, as Sessarego mentioned, this might be due to the fact that many of the authors of the texts analyzed in his study tend to follow prescriptive grammar rules.⁹

The third factor was internal: agentivity. The subject of the subordinate clause was classified as an agent (performer of the action) or a non-agent (the subject cannot

⁹ Sessarego explicitly mentions that tokens were obtained mainly from texts written by Mario Vargas Llosa and Alfredo Bryce Echenique, two renowned Peruvian writers who mostly use standard Spanish features.

perform any action because they are inanimate, generic, or the clause is passive) based on the fact that non-agent subjects show what has been called a “simplification pattern” (following Kany 1945 and Lunn 2007. In the interpretation of sentences with non-agent subjects in the subordinate clause, “the tense of the verb in the nominal [subordinate] clause will be more likely to follow the temporal reference established by the main verb” (Sessarego 2008: 96). Thus, Sessarego hypothesized that non-agent subordinate subjects favor verbs that are not in the past tense. This hypothesis was confirmed by his results: looking at both dialects together, 41% of non-agent subjects accepted the present subjunctive tense whereas only 13% of agent subjects were accompanied by that verbal form.

For Peruvian Spanish, results were divided according to three factors: tense of the main verb (simple past versus others),¹⁰ verb class, and agentivity. Only the latter two were statistically significant in reference to the use of the present subjunctive. With regard to verb class, almost 50% of the data that favored variation in tense were under what Sessarego calls “creator verbs” (e.g. verbs that express belief, wish, supposition).¹¹ The third internal factor, agentivity, also turned out to be statistically significant: 65% of the non-agent subjects favored variation in tense, whereas only 35% of the agent subjects did so.

Sessarego’s conclusion is that Peruvian Spanish does not present variation in tense as much as Bolivian Spanish. His suggestion is that in Peruvian Spanish, the verb types are still strong parameters that speakers follow, i.e. they take into consideration the type of verb that is used in the main clause to decide whether or not to use past subjunctive.

¹⁰ This category refers to the rest of past tenses, e.g. pluperfect, past progressive, imperfect.

¹¹ He takes the name from Carrasco-Gutiérrez (1999). Some examples are *creer* “to guess,” *pensar* “to think,” *desear* “to wish,” *querer* “to want,” *esperar* “to expect,” *imaginar* “to imagine,” *suponer* “to suppose,” *soñar* “to dream,” etc.

In Sessarego's study of 2010, twenty Latin American dialects were included (Peninsular Spanish was excluded due to very low variation). One issue that must be noticed throughout the varieties studied is that there are big differences in the amount of tokens analyzed for each one: whereas Argentinean and Mexican dialects had more than 200 each, Cuban and Honduran Spanish had less than 40 each. Thus, Sessarego claims that his results must be taken as preliminary conclusions. Data were taken from the CREA corpus again, which means each variety is considered as representative of the whole country (not considering internal regional differences). Also, no ambiguous cases were included, only cases where present subjunctive was used with events that were anterior to the time of communication. In other words, cases where the event in the subordinate clause was still possible in the present were not included.

Results were presented in percentages and weights (according to a VARBRUL analysis), which made reference to how likely each dialect favored present subjunctive. Thus, Bolivian Spanish was located at the top of the table, with a weight of .89, followed by Paraguayan (.86), Ecuadorian (.72), Uruguayan (.65), and Peruvian Spanish (.61). In contrast, the dialects that least favored these constructions were Puerto Rican (.24), Guatemalan (.29), Cuban (.30), and Salvadorian Spanish (.32). All dialects are presented in Table 2.

Table 2 Results for present subjunctive use (Sessarego 2010)

	Weight	% PresSubj	N	% Data
DIALECT				
Bolivian	.89	.70	100	4.7
Paraguayan	.86	.68	47	2.2
Ecuadorian	.72	.42	59	2.8
Uruguayan	.65	.40	124	5.8
Peruvian	.61	.39	76	3.6
Costa Rican	.60	.38	55	2.6
Honduran	.53	.36	28	0.7
Argentinean	.53	.30	479	11.9
Chilean	.46	.26	69	3.2
Dominican	.46	.25	41	1.9
Mexican	.43	.24	268	12.5
Colombian	.42	.23	179	8.4
Nicaraguan	.41	.22	51	2.4
Panamanian	.40	.20	52	2.4
Venezuelan	.37	.18	107	5.0
US-American	.34	.18	185	8.6
Salvadorian	.32	.16	103	4.8
Cuban	.30	.13	31	1.4
Guatemalan	.29	.13	69	3.2
Puerto Rican	.24	.12	17	0.8

There were two linguistic factors: verb class (creator verbs versus others) and agentivity (agent versus non-agent subjects). As it was mentioned, creator verbs were verbs that expressed belief, wish, or supposition, based on Carrasco-Gutiérrez's definition (1999). This is a broad category that includes very different verbs, such as *creer* ("to believe"), *pensar* ("to think"), *desear* ("to wish"), *querer* ("to want"), etc. For this reason, in my study, I divide them in more specific categories, following Suñer and Padilla-Rivera's continuum of verb types.

Both verb class and agentivity were significant factors for many dialects in Sessarego's study. Within the ones with the highest percentages, agentivity alone was significant for Bolivian Spanish, where non-agent subjects favored present subjunctive the most (weight .66 versus .36 of agent). On the other hand, for Peruvian Spanish, both factors were significant: non-agent subjects (.77 versus .28 of agent) and creator verbs (.69 versus .32 of other) favored variation in tense. With regard to other dialects, verb class was a significant factor for almost all of them (except for Paraguayan and Bolivian), whereas non-agent subjects favored present subjunctive in some (Mexican, Venezuelan, Costa Rican, and others, besides the two already mentioned).

As it is shown in Table 2, variation in tense was more frequent in Peruvian Spanish (top of the table) than in Mexican Spanish (lower half of the table). Because of this, these results suggest that comparisons between these varieties are needed to find concrete reasons for both types of variation, in particular if more specific verb types are considered.

Sessarego suggests that the case of Peruvian Spanish and other dialects (i.e. Bolivian, Paraguayan, Ecuadorian, and Uruguayan Spanish) that favored variation in tense must be understood as a case of simplification, as was mentioned before (following Kany 1945, 1987, and Lunn 2007). In these cases, the temporal reference of the embedded clause depends on the temporal reference of the main clause. For that reason, past subjunctive is not needed.

2.2.2 Theoretical account for the phenomenon

Guajardo (2010) presents an account for the specific case of variation described in this dissertation. For him, the present subjunctive form in Spanish is tenseless, which makes it a similar form to an infinitive. In addition to that, Guajardo states that tense is lost in embedded clauses because it is semantically vacuous in this type of clauses.

In order to understand how present subjunctive is a tenseless form, Guajardo develops his hypothesis based on Reichenbach's theory of tense. In this theory, tense is

made up of three primitives: event time (E), speech time (S), and reference time (R). The temporal order of a sentence is represented by E and S in linear order, i.e. a past event would present E as an earlier point than S, like in example (27).

- (27) John slapped Paul. (Guajardo 2010)
E _____ S

If both E and S coincide in the same moment, they are only separated by a comma, which means that both primitives are associated, like in sentence (28).

- (28) John is slapping Paul. (Guajardo 2010)
S, E

With regard to R, the primary relation is between S (speech time) and R (reference time), and then between R and E (event time). Based on these two relations, the link between S and E is said to be derivative. The role of R is clear in sentences with complex tenses, such as sentence (29), where there is a future perfect form. The event E happens after the speech act, but before 5 o'clock, which is the reference time. In the case of simple tenses, R may not contribute to the interpretation of the sentence ("may not be temporally visible," in Guajardo's words) but it is still present in the structure of tense.

- (29) John will have arrived by 5 o'clock. (Guajardo 2010)
S _____ E _____ R

In embedded clauses such as the ones with present subjunctive, S is not evident and for this reason, neither R nor E can be given a temporal interpretation. It is because of this that Guajardo states that tense is semantically vacuous in those clauses. But this also represents a violation of the Principle of Full Interpretation (PFI), where no linguistic element should be vacuous (Chomsky 1986, cited by Guajardo). As a solution to the problem, the author says that, based on syntactic relations, it is possible for the speaker to create semantic interpretations for the nominal clauses containing the subjunctive form. If

there is an association between R in the embedded clause and E in the main clause, the violation of PFI is avoided.

This same solution accounts for infinitive clauses, due to their similarity to subjunctive clauses. The author presents an example with infinitives, where R₂ (R in the embedded clause) is associated with E₁ (E in the main clause), so that R₂ gets the same temporal interpretation as E₁. This is shown in example (30): E₁, R₁, and S₁ refer to the main clause, whereas R₂ and E₂ refer to the embedded clause.

(30) John wanted to go. (Guajardo 2010)

E₁, R₁_____ S₁
 |
 R₂, E₂

The same structure, then, can be represented when having a present subjunctive form in the embedded clause in Spanish. In example (31), again it is possible to see that R₂ is interpreted because of its association with E₁. According to Guajardo, “As E₁ is interpreted prior to S, and R₂ is interpreted contemporaneous with E₁, we derive the correct temporal interpretation that the embedded clause *que vaya* ‘that I should go’ is located prior to S as well” (2010:47).

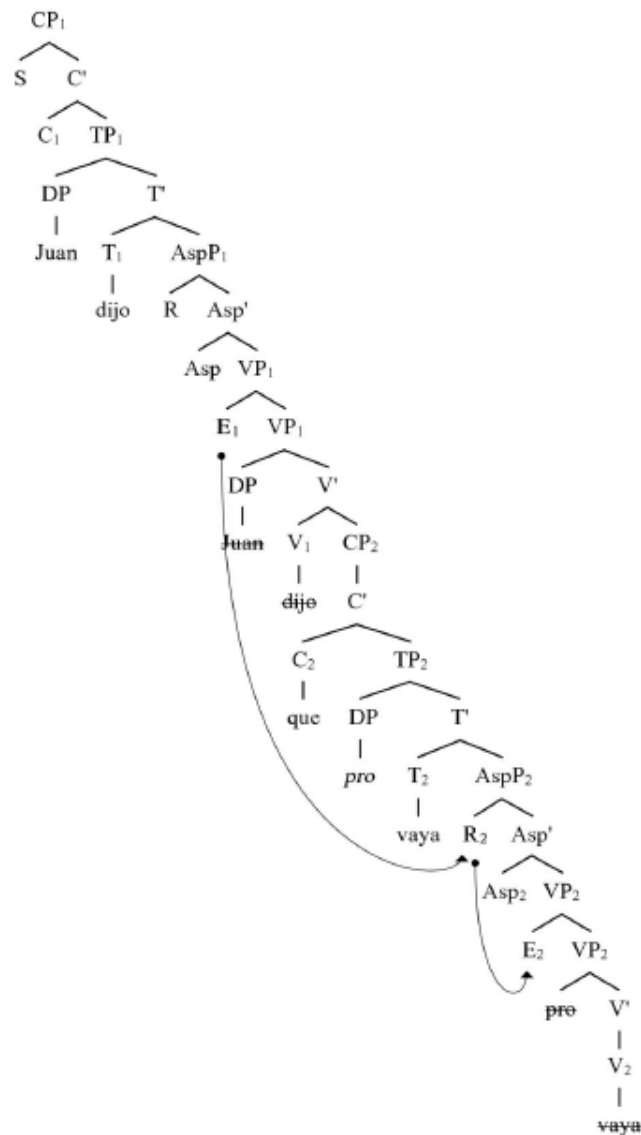
(31) Juan dijo que vaya. (Guajardo 2010)
 say-3Sg.Past.Ind that go-1Sg.Pres.Subj
 “Juan told me to go”

Juan dijo que vaya.
 E₁, R₁_____ S
 |
 R₂, E₂

In order to show how these semantic interpretations are produced, the author proposes that the association between those primitives is linked to syntactic relations. He states that, just like pronouns, tense must be fixed to something else previously

mentioned or present and this can be done through syntactic binding. This follows Roberts and Roussou's hypothesis from 2002 (cited by Guajardo), by which binding is defined as a co-membership in a dependency. In the main clause, T is bound to C, Asp is bound to T, and V is bound to Asp, which are common dependencies. As a result of the binding relations, it is possible to understand the temporal interpretation that is produced when an embedded clause with present subjunctive is present: E_1 in the main clause binds R_2 in the embedded clause, whereas this same R_2 binds E_2 in the same embedded clause. Figure 1 shows these binding relations.

Figure 1 Syntactic bindings of example (31) (Guajardo 2010)



In Figure 1, there are two dependencies presented. The first one shows that AspP₂ is bound to VP₁, which binds the temporal arguments in both phrases and creates a temporal interpretation to R₂. The temporal interpretation assigned to R₂ is understood as contemporaneous with E₁ because of this first binding.¹² On the other hand, the second dependency shows that VP₂ is bound to AspP₂, which binds the temporal arguments in both phrases too. Furthermore, E₂ interpretation is assigned as contemporaneous with R₂ because this is the typical association in simple tenses. Then, E₂ is understood as contemporaneous with E₁, since R₂ is interpreted as contemporaneous in the first dependency.

As a summary of his findings, Guajardo states that the reference time in the subordinate clause (R₂) gets the same temporal interpretation of event time in the main clause (E₁). There is no speech time (S) for subjunctive, so there is no temporal interpretation for this form without binding. For this same reason, subjunctive cannot be present in main clauses. The conclusion of this study is that the use of present subjunctive is not related to the verb type in the main clause, as Suñer and Padilla-Rivera propose. However, the subjunctive gets its temporal interpretation by a binding relation with the tense primitives of that main clause. Both present and past subjunctive are forms in free variation, with present subjunctive being preferred frequently in some dialects of Spanish. Guajardo does not explain why present is preferred over past; he only states that the tendency is that, in other languages where grammatical forms are lost, all these forms are replaced by only one form, just like present subjunctive in embedded clauses. Thus, it is a case of a change in progress that is still taking place; the different amounts of present subjunctive throughout Spanish dialects show how far the change has gone.

In the specific case of Peruvian Spanish, if there is a change taking place with respect to tense in subordinate clauses, my study aims to find why this change is more common in this set of varieties rather than in other Latin American dialects. In particular, I want to see whether this pattern is reinforced by the contact between Spanish and

¹² Already shown in example (31)

Quechua, which has been mentioned as a strong factor for linguistic innovations in the area.

2.3 Variation in mood

Within subordinate clauses that are complements of the main clause, subjunctive mood can be used when there are different verb types in the main clause. For instance, there are six types that can accept subjunctive in the subordinate clause, according to Suñer and Padilla-Rivera (1987) (refer to Table 1). Nevertheless, there is no clear agreement among researchers about how to account for the choice of grammatical mood among Spanish native speakers. Bell (1980) presents a description of the theoretical hypotheses that have been made. On one hand, he describes Bergen's hypothesis from 1977, in which Bergen claims that subjunctive is used when the speaker wants to express a subjective reservation with regard to the reality of the proposition. This explanation can be formalized with the semantic feature [+Reservation], which is related to one element of the main clause. In Bell's opinion, this accounts for the use of subjunctive with uncertainty verbs in the main clause,¹³ but not with other verb types, because what has been called speaker reservation can be understood in very different ways in different cases.

On the other hand, Bell presents Klein's hypothesis from 1977, which says that indicative and subjunctive are opposed in terms of assertive predicates and non-assertive predicates, respectively. Depending on the utterance where those predicates are used, some of them (e.g. semi-factives or verbs of cognition like *darse cuenta* "to realize" or *saber* "to know") can be either assertive or non-assertive, depending on the intent of the speaker. Assertion must be understood as the speaker's confirmation that he/she is convinced of the truth of the event being described. In Bell's opinion, Klein's account is useful only for comment verbs, like *gustar* ("to like") and *sentir* ("to be sorry"),¹⁴ and uncertainty verbs, like *dudar* ("to doubt"). He criticizes the fact that Klein groups very

¹³ Like in *Dudo que tengamos tiempo para nadar* "I doubt (indicative) that we have (subjunctive) time to swim" (example adapted from Bell)

¹⁴ Like in *Me gusta que hayas ganado el premio* "I like (indicative) that you won (subjunctive) the award" (example taken from Bell)

different categories, such as indirect commands and comment verbs, saying that all of them used subjunctive because of the same reason (they are part of the non-assertive class).

As a conclusion, Bell says that when speakers can choose between indicative and subjunctive, the last one is present with specific meanings or verb classes. However, it is difficult to find similarities between all those verb classes.

Another hypothesis was made by Terrell and Hooper (1974), who state that the use of either indicative or subjunctive mood is related to whether or not the speaker wants to express assertion. Speakers would use indicative to express assertion, whereas subjunctive will be chosen to express non-assertion. This is a pragmatic contrast, which makes reference to the communicative intention of the speaker according to his/her view of reality (Ahern 2005, Klein 1975, Lavandera 1983, Lunn 1989, and Majias-Bikandi 1994, among others). Terrell and Hooper also point out that a proposition is asserted when the speaker wants the audience to think that he/she believes in what the proposition is saying. Lunn (1989), based on Sperber and Wilson's theory of relevance (1986), adds that in Spanish, information that is either untrue or old (or presupposed) is considered unassertable, whereas both true and new information is assertable. Lunn summarizes both types of assertability in a continuum like the following:

less assertable.....	assertable.....	less assertable
untrue.....	both true and new.....	old
SUBJUNCTIVE.....	INDICATIVE.....	SUBJUNCTIVE

Finally, it is necessary to see how indicative and subjunctive mood are produced with lack of knowledge verbs, such as *ignorar* ("to not know"), because it is possible to find both grammatical moods with this verb type. However, literature that develops this topic does not take into account verbs such as that one, but does consider the opposite type, i.e. knowledge verbs like *saber* ("to know"). Because of this fact, I focused on what

Guitart (1990) describes what he calls predicates of knowledge, which express whether or not the speaker knows the information of the subordinate clause. Like in example (32) and (33), when negation is added to these predicates (and they are in past tense), it is possible to find clauses in either indicative or subjunctive mood.

- With indicative, the event in the subordinate clause is semantically presupposed. This type of presupposition means that the complement clause is true and it is independent from the opinion of the speaker. What the speaker wants to communicate is that he/she did not have the information in the past (and did not know that it was true), but now he/she does. In example (32), the speaker says that he/she did not know that his/her friend played the piano very well, but now the speaker knows that and it is true. Furthermore, although more summarized, Ridruejo (1999) provides the same explanation for lack of knowledge verbs (the verb type included in the present study), like *ignorar* (“to not know”) and *desconocer* (“to not be aware of”).

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With subjunctive, there is no presupposition entailed; the truth value of the subordinate clause could be either true or false. What the subjunctive does here is present a doubt about whether the situation described exists or not. In example (33), the speaker presents a doubt about the idea of his/her friend playing the piano very well; it could be the case that the friend is not a very good piano player. According to Iverson, Kempchinsky, and Rothman's hypothesis, the choice of subjunctive means that the commitment to the truth of the clause that the speaker makes is based on discourse features.

Therefore, it can be seen that the choice of mood in the nominal clause depends on how the speaker makes his/her commitment to the truth of the clause. In addition to that, when the speaker selects the indicative mood, it is understood that he/she now has some information that he/she did not have in the past. Thus, when information is given to the speaker, it is possible to expect indicative mood as the speaker's choice for the nominal clause. Moreover, if no information is given to the speaker, indicative mood would not necessarily be the speaker's selection.

2.3.1 Studies in various dialects

Gudmestad (2010) presents a general overview of how variation can be present in mood selection among native speakers of Spanish. Twenty native speakers participated in the study, which made up a highly varied group of participants: they were speakers from Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Costa Rica, the Dominican Republic, Guatemala, Mexico, Peru, Spain, and Puerto Rico.

In this study, three different variable levels were taken in consideration: word-level, sentence-level, and discourse-level variables. According to Gudmestad, previous sociolinguistic studies on variation in mood have mostly focused on sentence-level variables.¹⁵ In her study, there was one linguistic factor per level (form regularity in word

¹⁵ For word-level variables, she cites Ross Veidmark and Umaña Aguiar (1991) and Geeslin and Gudmestad (2008), both focusing on regular versus irregular verbs. For discourse-level variables, she mentions Silva-Corvalán (1994) and Geeslin and

level and semantic category in sentence level), except for the discourse level, which had two factors (time reference and hypotheticality). Furthermore, there was a fifth factor considered: the type of task administered to the participants (monologic role play, contextualized-clause-elicitation task, contextualized-verb-elicitation task). All variables and their categories are summarized in Table 3.

Form regularity was included because the scarce literature suggests that regular verbs may be better predictors of subjunctive choice, although there are no clear conclusions about it. With regard to semantic category, it is the most studied variable within mood variation, because it seems to be a strong predictor; moreover, it predicts that variation is even higher when studies focus on contexts that traditionally allow both grammatical moods. Third, time reference was included because previous studies have suggested that future-time context favored subjunctive choice more than other contexts; however, previous literature did not include past-time discourse contexts, which was included in Gudmestad's study. The other discourse-level variable was hypotheticality, which was taken into consideration because there is no previous literature that studies mood choice systematically in the three hypotheticality contexts included in Gudmestad's study. Last, she used three different tasks because she wanted to see whether there were any differences based on style and task variation. Each task would allow for different types of information: the monologic role play favored extended language production, the contextualized-clause-elicitation task made participants complete sentences that were part of a story,¹⁶ and the contextualized-verb-elicitation task gave participants verbs in their infinitival form, so that they would produce the mood they considered appropriate in the context.

Gudmestad (2008), who focused on the relationship between time reference of the discourse context and mood choice.

¹⁶ Similar to the production task used in this dissertation

Table 3 Summary of variables (Gudmestad 2010)

Variable	Categories	Example/Description
Form regularity	Regular	Verbs whose stems of finite verbs are identical to the stem of the infinitive or to the infinitive itself (<i>hablar/habla/hable</i> [INFIN/INDIC/SUBJC], ‘to talk/talks/talks’)
	Irregular	Verbs in which the stem undergoes a vowel change in some forms (<i>dormir/duerme/duerma</i> [INFIN/INDIC/SUBJC], ‘to sleep/sleeps/sleeps’)
	Form-specific irregular	Verbs in which multiple verb forms have a stem that involves the presence of a consonant that is not present in the infinitive (e.g. <i>tener/tenga/tuvo</i> [INFIN/SUBJC/INDIC ‘to have/has/had’)
Variable	Categories	Example/Description
Semantic category	Volition	<i>Quería que mis padres me visitaron/visitaran.</i> I wanted that my parents visited [INDIC/SUBJC] me.’
	Comment	<i>Es importante que uno se alimenta/alimente bien.</i> It’s important that one eats [INDIC/SUBJC] well.’
	Uncertainty	<i>No creo que mi papá te puede/pueda ayudar.</i> I do not think that my dad can [INDIC/SUBJC] help you.’
	Temporality	<i>Cuando viajamos/viajemos a Chile, me quiero relajar en la playa.</i> When we travel [INDIC/SUBJC] to Chile, I want to relax at the beach.’
	Assertion	<i>Sé que iba/fuera a nevar.</i> I knew that it was going [INDIC/SUBJC] to snow.’

Table 3 (cont.)

Variable	Categories	Example/Description
Time reference	Future	Mood-choice context produced in a future-time discourse context (future plans)
	Present	Mood-choice context produced in a present-time discourse context (daily routine)
	Past	Mood-choice context produced in a past-time discourse context (recent vacation)
Hypotheticality	Past hypothetical	Mood-choice context produced in a past-hypothetical discourse context (having grown up in an early decade)
	Non-past hypothetical	Mood-choice context produced in a non-past hypothetical discourse context (winning the lottery)
	Non-hypothetical	Mood-choice context produced in a non-hypothetical discourse context (ordering food at a restaurant)
Task	Task 1	Monologic role play
	Task 2	Contextualized-clause-elicitation task
	Task 3	Contextualized-verb-elicitation task

Regarding the results, subjunctive had higher percentages than non-subjunctive forms¹⁷ overall (52.7% versus 47.3%) and all factors were significant taken together. Within each variable, Table 4 shows in what categories subjunctive was preferred taking in consideration all three tasks.

¹⁷ Gudmestad considered indicative and non-finite (infinitive) verbs as non-subjunctive forms.

Table 4 Results by variable (based on Gudmestad 2010)

Variables	Preference for Subjunctive				
	High preference		Low preference		
Form regularity	irregular verbs		regular verbs		form-specific irregular verbs
Semantic category	volition	comment	uncertainty	temporality	assertion
Time reference	future contexts		present contexts		past contexts
Hypotheticality	past hypothetical contexts		non-hypothetical contexts		non-past hypothetical contexts
Task	contextualized verb-elicitation task		contextualized clause-elicitation task		monologic role play task

Gudmestad highlights that all factors were significant, although there is no specific details about how categories within each factor differ beyond percentages. In other words, it is not stated whether there were significant differences between categories. Overall, she considers that further investigation is needed to understand why subjunctive was preferred with, for instance, irregular verbs, volition and comment verbs, and future contexts. In the conclusion, the author suggests that all types of variables, in the three levels of analysis already mentioned, must be considered when focusing on the indicative-subjunctive alternation in Spanish. This is relevant in particular because of the fact that there were no 100% answers in either subjunctive or non-subjunctive with any of the categories studied in any of the variables. As the author says, these results confirm what previous sociolinguistic literature has found: that mood use is highly variable among native speakers, a finding that must be developed in detail in order to “identify the envelope of variation” (42).

Gudmestad's results are relevant to my study in the sense that they confirm what has been found in the previous literature with regard to time reference: past contexts do not favor subjunctive use as much as other contexts. Thus, grammatical moods other than subjunctive are expected in my results, since all contexts included in my study are past contexts. In addition to that, a high preference for subjunctive with desire verbs (volition verbs in Gudmestad's terms) and with factive-emotive verbs is expected as well, which correspond to comment verbs in her study.

2.3.2 Studies in Andean dialects

Variation in mood between indicative and subjunctive has not been studied in Andean monolingual dialects of Spanish. There are no specific data about how native speakers of Spanish produce one mood in contexts where the other is expected according to the standard norm. However, in the same way that has been found in other bilingual regions, alternation between both grammatical moods has been described in the case of Quechua-Spanish bilinguals.

A.M. Escobar (1980, 2000) states that, among Quechua-Spanish bilingual speakers, there is a tendency to use indicative in contexts where subjunctive is expected. These contexts can be subordinate clauses where subjunctive is required by the verb in the main clause, like in examples (34) and (35), or conjunctions that express concession, temporal anticipation, or purpose, like example (36).¹⁸ In sentence (34), the main verb *me gustaría* expresses a desire, which requires subjunctive in the subordinate clause (*Me gustaría que enseñe castellano* "I would like him/her to teach Spanish"). The construction *es necesario* in sentence (35) is also an expression of desire (Suñer and Padilla Rivera 1987) that requires subjunctive (*Es necesario que ellos hablen quechua* "It is necessary that they speak Quechua"). Finally, in sentence (36), the subordinate clause makes reference to the purpose of the speaker, which is expressed with subjunctive mood in standard Spanish (*Yo hablo a mis hijitos quechua y castellano para que se vayan*

¹⁸ Examples were taken from A.M. Escobar (2000), but translations are mine. Notice other second language typical features, like the lack of number agreement, in examples (35) and (36).

acostumbrando “I speak Quechua and Spanish to my kids so they can get used [to them]”).

- (34) En las chacras me gustaría que enseña castellano
 in the farms 1Sg.Dat like-1Sg.Cond that teach-3Sg.Pres.Ind Castillian
 (A.M. Escobar 2000)

“I would like him/her to teach Spanish in the farms”

- (35) Es necesario que ellos habla su quechua pues
 be-3Sg.Pres.Ind necessary that they speak-3Sg.Pres.Ind their Quechua
 (A.M. Escobar 2000)

“Then it is necessary that they speak Quechua”

- (36) Yo hablo a mis hijitos quechua y castellano para que
 I speak-1Sg.Pres.Ind to my children Quechua and Castillian for that

va acostumbrando (A.M. Escobar 2000)
 go-3Sg.Pres.Ind getting used

“I speak Quechua and Spanish to my kids so they can get used (to them)”

According to A.M. Escobar, the previous examples are cases where subjunctive is syntactically required, but indicative is preferred because there seems to be a tendency to prefer forms that are considered less marked (such as indicative) in most cases. Silva-Corvalán (2001) attributes the preference for indicative in Peruvian Spanish as to the high amount of bilinguals in the region. In her words, “contexts where subjunctive use was obligatory are now variable or require indicative without exceptions” (138-139, my translation). In the same fashion, Carranza Romero (1993) also presents examples of the preference for indicative in subjunctive contexts when analyzing songs and both written and oral texts produced by bilinguals. In example (37), native speakers would use subjunctive in the relative clause because there is an indefinite antecedent (*cualquiera que tú deseas* “anything that you wish”).

- (37) Cualquiera que tú deseas puedes comerlo
 anything that you wish-2Sg.Pres.Ind can-2Sg.Pres.Ind eat it
 (Carranza Romero 1993)
 “You can eat anything that you wish”

That is, mood variation has been reported in the speech of Quechua-Spanish bilingual speakers; however, no quantitative data has been provided, nor is there research regarding how monolingual native speakers use this grammatical mood in oral communication in the Andean region. Thus, my study aims to carry out a quantitative analysis of how both monolingual and bilingual speakers in Peru (in Andean and non-Andean areas) choose grammatical mood in subordinate nominal clauses. If a frequent preference for indicative is found, it will be necessary to consider how Quechua plays a role in this pattern, based on the claim that indicative is preferred among bilinguals according to previous research already presented.

In conclusion, in order to understand how variation in both tense and mood can be different from what standard Spanish rules state, I present a summary of verbal forms expected in the subordinate clause in terms of standard rules (see Table 5). These verbal forms are based on two of the three linguistic factors included in this study (verb type and event time). If participants produce answers that differ from these forms, variation in tense and/or mood in those groups must be considered.

Table 5 Expected verbal forms in standard Spanish (verb type and event time)

	Present events (Events still possible in the present)		Past events (Events only possible in the past)	
Factive-emotive verbs	<i>Tenses in subjunctive:</i> Present / Past	<i>Moods:</i> Indicative / subjunctive	<i>Tenses in subjunctive:</i> Present / Past	<i>Moods:</i> Indicative / subjunctive
Desire verbs	<i>Tenses in subjunctive:</i> Present / Past	<i>Moods:</i> Subjunctive	<i>Tenses in subjunctive:</i> Past	<i>Moods:</i> Subjunctive
Lack of knowledge verbs	Not possible sentences ¹⁹		<i>Tenses in subjunctive:</i> Past	<i>Moods:</i> Indicative / subjunctive

2.4 Nominal subordinate clauses in Quechua

In Quechua, subordinate clauses are nominalized verbal phrases. This nominalization process is marked by suffixes that express that the event in the nominal clause happens before or after the event in the main clause, independently of the moment of the speech act (Cerrón-Palomino 1987, Soto Ruiz 1993, Zariquiey and Córdova 2008). In one of the most representative Quechua dialects and the one spoken by my bilingual group, the Ayacucho dialect, the main nominalizing suffixes are *-sqa* and *-na*. The first one is used to express actions that happen before the event of the main verb; it is commonly used when the main clause has a verb like *qunqay* (“to forget”), *uyariy* (“to hear”), *musyay* (“to notice”), etc. (Cerrón-Palomino 1987). Example (38) shows that the nominalizer *-sqa* is a suffix following the subordinate verb, whereas the person suffix and the case morpheme appear after the nominalizer. The action of the subordinate verb happened before the action of the main verb.

¹⁹ It is not possible to have an event in the subordinate clause that is subsequent to the time of the communication, due to the meaning of the verb in the main clause.

- (38) Ripu-**sqa**-yki-ta uyari-rqa-Ø (Cerrón-Palomino 1987)²⁰
 leave-Nomin-2Sg-Acc hear-Past-3Sg
 “He heard that you left/had left”

On the other hand, *-na* is used to express actions that happen after the action of the main verb. It is commonly used with verbs like *munay* (“to want”) and *suyay* (“to wait”) in the main clause. In the examples in (39), the actions of dancing and going out happen after the verbs in the main clause, even when the main verb is in the past, as in (39b).

- (39) a. Tusu-**na**-n-ta muna-ni (Cerrón-Palomino 1987)²¹
 dance-Nomin-3Sg-Acc want-1Sg
 “I want her to dance”
- b. Yarqu-**na**-n-ta suya-rqa-nki
 go out-Nomin-3Sg-Acc wait-Past-2Sg
 “You waited for her to go out”

Thus, these two nominalizers can be differentiated by the time when the actions of the subordinate clauses happen with respect to the verb of the main clause. While *-sqa* marks an action that happens before, *-na* marks an action that happens afterwards. Cole and Hermon (2011) summarize this distinction by saying that *-sqa* marks past tense and *-na*, future tense.

Furthermore, the two suffixes can be used when other types of verbs are in the main clause as well (Clodoaldo Soto, personal communication). Examples in (40) shows how both *-na* and *-sqa* can be used with a factive-emotive verb. In example (41), *-na* is used with the second verb type of the study, desire verbs.

²⁰ Example adapted to Ayacucho dialect (translations are mine)

²¹ Examples adapted to Ayacucho dialect (translations are mine)

- (40) a. Hamu-**na**-yki-wan kusiku-n
 come-Nomin-2Sg-Obl be happy-3Sg
 “She is happy that you will come”
- b. Hamu-**na**-yki-wan kusiku-rqa-Ø
 come-Nomin-2Sg-Obl be happy-Past-3Sg
 “She was happy that you would come”
- c. Hamu-**sqa**-yki-wan kusiku-rqa-Ø
 come-Nomin-2Sg-Obl be happy-Past-3Sg
 “She was happy that you had come”
- (41) a. Hamu-**na**-yki-ta muna-n
 come-Nomin-2Sg-Acc want-3Sg
 “She wants you to come”
- b. Hamu-**na**-yki-ta muna-rqa-Ø
 come-Nomin-2Sg-Acc want-Past-3Sg
 “She wanted you to come”

Sentence (41a) has a desire verb in the present in the main clause, so it must be understood that the action of the subordinate clause (“that you come”) has not been completed yet. Then, the nominalizer *-na* is used for a future action. In the same sense, the event in the subordinate clause of sentence (41b) has not been completed yet, even though the main verb is in the past. The same meaning must be understood in sentences (40a) and (40b) with a factive-emotive verb in the main clause, where the event of coming has not been completed, regardless of the tense of the main verb (present in 40a and past in 40b).

On the other hand, because the action has already been completed in sentence (40c), the nominalizer *-sqa*, meaning a past action, is used (“that you had come already”). This is not possible to find with desire verbs in example (41), because the meaning of *munay* (“to want”) implies something that, because of being desired, has not been completed yet. With regard to the third type of verb included in my study, it is necessary

to consider the main verb *yachay* (“to know”) anteceded by negation, similar to *no saber* and *ignorar* (“to not know”) in Spanish. Weber (1996) presents a pair of examples with *mana yachay* (“not to know”), where sentence (42a) refers to a future event with respect to the main verb, and sentence (42b) refers to an event that has already happened and, therefore, it is true for the speaker.

- (42) a. Mana yacha-rqa-ni-chu achka chaya-mu-**na**-n-ta (Weber 1996)²²
 no know-Past-1Sg-Neg many arrive-Dir-Nomin-3Sg-Acc
 “I did not know that so many were going to arrive”
- b. Mana yacha-rqa-ni-chu achka chaya-mu-**sqa**-n-ta
 no know-Past-1Sg-Neg many arrive-Dir-Nomin-3Sg-Acc
 “I did not know that so many arrived”

When used as nominalizers, both suffixes *-na* and *-sqa* carry aspectual meanings rather than tense meanings, but there is a strong connection between aspect and tense if the use of those suffixes as verbal markers and as nominalization markers are compared. Cole and Hermon (2011) present a table that is summarized in Table 6.

Table 6 Functions of *-sqa* and *-na* (Cole and Hermon 2011)

	Verbal markers	Nominalization markers
<i>-sqa</i>	Sudden discovery Reportative	Realized (Finite) Resultative
<i>-na</i>	Future	Unrealized (Finite) Potential realization

So, there is a correspondence between tense and aspect for both suffixes (Cole and Hermon 2011): *-sqa* is used for the past tense in its reportative use, and implies that an event has been completed (resultative use). On the contrary, *-na* is used for future tense and implies that an event is in potential realization. Cole and Hermon add that in their nominalizing function, these morphemes do not distinguish tense in the same level

²² Examples adapted to Ayacucho dialect

of detail that can be seen for the verbal functions. Based on Cerrón-Palomino (1976), they state the following:

[nominal clauses] do mark a relative temporal relation with the matrix verb by indicating whether the action occurs before or after the main clause action. Crucially, no independent tense marking (separate from the nominalizer) is possible in NCs [nominal clauses], and the nominalizing morphemes collapse information about finiteness, tense/aspect, and some have no tense implications at all (1229).

In summary, previous literature shows that there are cases where variation of tense or mood is produced regardless of the dialect. These cases, accepted in standard Spanish, were summarized in Table 5. However, due to the characteristics of the groups included in the present study, I expect to find more cases of both types of variation. For example, Peruvian groups may produce tense variation even with desire and lack of knowledge verbs in past events, which is not possible in standard varieties according to Suñer and Padilla-Rivera. Also, variation in mood is expected in these same groups with desire verbs in both event times.

I consider that the high frequency of both types of variation in Peruvian varieties can be reinforced by the contact between Spanish and Quechua, and also between the different varieties of Spanish present in the country. As it was explained in this chapter, the characteristics of Quechua and the preferences of bilingual speakers can play a role in the contact situation with regard to the specific types of variation studied in this dissertation.

Finally, with regard to degree of knowledge, it is possible to find that speakers produce grammatical moods depending on the possibility of making their commitment to the truth value of the event. In the case of the bilingual speakers, they may produce more indicative rather than subjunctive mood in all contexts, given that it has been found that Quechua-Spanish bilinguals tend to use indicative in contexts where subjunctive is expected.

2.5 Research Questions and Predictions

2.5.1 Research questions regarding groups of participants

(1) Is variation in tense and/or mood more frequent in Peruvian varieties of Spanish than in other varieties of Spanish (e.g. Mexican Spanish)?

In his study of 2010, Sessarego compares twenty dialects of Latin American Spanish in terms of the production of present subjunctive (and not past subjunctive) in subordinate clauses when the main clause is in past tense. He found that the top five dialects (by country) that produce more present subjunctive forms are Bolivian, Paraguayan, Ecuadorian, Uruguayan, and Peruvian (39% of cases in his data for this last country). Mexican Spanish is located at the lower half of the table, with 24% of present subjunctive cases. Based on these results from Sessarego (2010), Peruvian and Mexican Spanish are different with regard to the production of present subjunctive in contexts where the main clause is in past tense (and makes reference to a past event). Based on these findings, I aim to confirm these conclusions with my results, since I asked participants to complete sentences where the main clause is in past tense too (and talk about past events).

- Groups that speak varieties of Peruvian Spanish will produce fewer answers in past subjunctive than the group of Mexican Spanish.

(2) Within varieties of Peruvian Spanish, is variation in tense and/or mood more frequent in Andean varieties than in non-Andean varieties?

Based on the findings that Andean Spanish varieties present numerous features as a result of the contact with Quechua, the possibility that variation in tense in nominal clauses is also a result of Quechua influence must be considered.

As it was described earlier, Quechua shows a strong connection between aspect and tense, in particular with regard to *-sqa* and *-na* suffixes. The former marks both resultative and realized actions and the latter, actions that are in potential realization or unrealized. Thus, each suffix is used to express whether an action has been completed or not, or whether it has taken place or not yet. Given these facts, it is possible to predict

that bilinguals would express whether events in the subordinate clauses of the production task have been completed or not regardless of the time when they happen (and regardless of the verb type in the main clause). If it is a result of Quechua influence, then monolingual groups will produce less tense variation.

- There will be fewer answers in past subjunctive in the Andean group than in the other two groups of Peruvian Spanish.
- The bilingual group will produce more present subjunctive answers than the two monolingual groups from Lima.

On the other hand, speakers of the group from the Andean region are all Quechua-Spanish bilinguals. In addition to that, it must be taken into account that speakers of Spanish as a second language tend to prefer indicative rather than subjunctive mood (A.M. Escobar 2000; Medina-Rivera 2004; Terrell, Baycroft, and Perrone 1987). Therefore, the third prediction for this research question is the following:

- Variation in mood will be more frequent in the Andean group than in the two non-Andean groups.

2.5.2 Research questions regarding linguistic factors

The following three research questions are based on what has been reviewed in the earlier sections of this chapter. Earlier, I presented a summary of what verbal forms Standard Spanish would be found when taking together two of the three linguistic factors. Those forms were presented in Table 5 of this chapter (present again in a slightly modified version in Table 7).

Table 7 Expected verbal forms in Standard Spanish (verb type and event time)

	Present events		Past events	
Factive-emotive verbs	<i>Tenses in subjunctive:</i> Present / Past	<i>Moods:</i> Indicative / subjunctive	<i>Tenses in subjunctive:</i> Present / Past	<i>Moods:</i> Indicative / subjunctive
Desire verbs	<i>Tenses in subjunctive:</i> Present / Past	<i>Moods:</i> Subjunctive	<i>Tenses in subjunctive:</i> Past	<i>Moods:</i> Subjunctive
Lack of knowledge verbs			<i>Tenses in subjunctive:</i> Past	<i>Moods:</i> Indicative / subjunctive

(3) *Does variation in tense take place in subordinate clauses that express past events?*

In a sentence with a past tense verb in the main clause, Suñer and Padilla-Rivera (1987) state that it is possible to have two interpretations with regard to the possibility of doing the event of the subordinate clause with both factive-emotive and desire verbs in the main clause: it is an event that was only possible to do in the past (previous to the time of communication) or it is an event still possible to do in the present (subsequent to the time of communication). For example, compare sentence (45) (where the time of doing the homework is not subsequent to the time of the communication and therefore, only possible in the past/marked for past tense) and sentence (46) (where the time of doing the homework can be subsequent to the time of the communication and therefore, still possible in the present). The same explanation can be given for factive-emotive verbs, in examples (43) and (44). But this is not similar with lack of knowledge verbs: examples (47) and (48) show that the subordinate verb must be in the past (past subjunctive) when a lack of knowledge verb (in the past tense) is used in the main clause.

- (43) Me alegré de que leyeras el libro.
 be happy-1Sg.Past.Ind that read-2Sg.Past.Subj the book
 “I was happy that you read the book (event only possible in the past)”

- (44) Me alegré de que leas el libro.
be happy-1Sg.Past.Ind that read-2Sg.Pres.Subj the book
“I was happy that you read the book (event still possible in the present)”
- (45) Quiso que hiciera la tarea.
want-3Sg.Past.Ind that do-3Sg.Past.Subj the homework
“She wanted him to do his homework (event only possible in the past)”
- (46) Quiso que haga la tarea.
want-3Sg.Past.Ind that do-3Sg.Pres.Subj the homework
“She wanted him to do his homework (event still possible in the present)”
- (47) Ignorabas que fuera tan engreído de niño
not to know-2Sg.Past.Imp.Ind that be-3Sg.Past.Subj so spoiled of child
“You didn't know that he was so spoiled as a child (event only possible in the past)”
- (48) *Ignorabas que sea tan engreído de niño
not to know-2Sg.Past.Imp.Ind that be-3Sg.Pres.Subj so spoiled of child
“You didn't know that he was so spoiled as a child (event still possible in the present)”

Then, if there is a high frequency of tense variation with factive-emotive and desire verbs in general, it is possible to find this variation even with past events. This is relevant for the Peruvian Spanish varieties included in the study: since they produce present subjunctive very frequently, then tense variation is expected to be produced with both past and present events, contrary to what Suñer and Padilla-Rivera proposed. Therefore, the hypothesis for this research question is the following:

- In Peruvian Spanish varieties, variation in tense (answers in present subjunctive) will be frequent not only in present events, but also in past events.

(4) Is variation in tense similarly present in sentences with factive-emotive, desire, and lack of knowledge verbs in the main clause?

Based on Suñer and Padilla-Rivera's continuum of verb types, factive-emotive, on one side, and desire and lack of knowledge verbs, on the other side, represent two opposite extremes of the continuum. In this continuum proposed for Spanish regardless of the dialect, factive-emotive verbs are one of the less restrictive types and accept both past and present subjunctive when the main verb is in past tense, whereas desire and lack of knowledge verbs are the most restrictive types and only accept past subjunctive forms. Thus, based on the continuum, the study includes these three verb types in order to confirm whether there are differences when accepting variation in tense.

Predictions for this research question can be based on the continuum, meaning that if speakers follow the restrictions detailed above, factive-emotive verbs will accept present subjunctive forms more than desire and lack of knowledge verbs. Nevertheless, since Peruvian Spanish has been presented as a dialect where present subjunctive is very frequent when the main verb is in past tense, an opposite finding can be expected: if variation in tense is so frequent in Peruvian Spanish varieties, results will show that speakers of these varieties will produce present subjunctive answers with all three verb types regardless of how strict these types are in accepting tense variation. These results must be different from the results obtained for the Mexican group of the study. Therefore, the hypothesis for this research question is the following:

- Variation in tense will be so frequent in Peruvian Spanish varieties that the three verb types will accept answers in present subjunctive.

(5) Is variation in mood similarly present in sentences with factive-emotive, desire, and lack of knowledge verbs in the main clause?

In reference to variation in mood, it can be expected to be more frequent with factive-emotive than with desire verbs, since there is an alternation between indicative and subjunctive acceptable for all speakers of Spanish (Blake 1982, Terrell and Hooper 1974). For instance, when the event of the subordinate clause has already taken place,

both grammatical moods could be used, like in examples (49) and (50).

- (49) Se alegró de que vinieras.
be glad-3Sg.Past.Ind of that come-2Sg.Past.Subj
“She was glad that you came/will come”

- (50) Se alegró de que viniste.
be glad-3Sg.Past.Ind of that come-2Sg.Past.Ind
“She was glad that you came”

In addition to that, variation in mood can also be found with lack of knowledge verbs if the speakers still decide to make a commitment to the truth value of the event regardless of the specific context they are given. For instance, in a context where no information is given, previous research suggests that speakers will produce subjunctive mood because there is not enough information to make their commitment to the truth value of the event. Nevertheless, if they consider information to be sufficient, they will produce indicative mood to express their commitment. Consequently, hypotheses for this research question are the following:

- Answers in a grammatical mood other than subjunctive will be less for desire verbs than for factive-emotive verbs.
- Variation in mood will also be found with lack of knowledge verbs due to the specific contexts participants are given.

(6) Is variation in mood based on the degree of knowledge of the speaker?

The degree of knowledge factor has three levels, based on how much information about the event the speaker is given: all information, little information, and no information. As it is detailed in previous sections, speakers prefer indicative mood when they want to express a commitment to the truth value of the event in the nominal clause. This is particularly possible when they have enough information about the event. Based on this statement, participants are expected to produce answers in indicative mood with all information contexts, where relevant information about the event is given to them.

Otherwise, if the speaker considers it to not be possible to make a commitment to the truth value of the event, he/she can decide to present a doubt about the truth of the situation. This doubt is expressed by choosing subjunctive mood in the subordinate clause, as it is detailed in the previous sections. Based on what was mentioned in the previous paragraph, the commitment to the truth value of the event is linked to how much information the speaker has; therefore, if not enough information is available (e.g. little information and/or no information contexts), I would expect higher frequencies of subjunctive mood.

Then, my predictions are that a continuum of answers in different grammatical moods will be produced according to the three contexts (all information, little information, no information) provided to participants. Two hypotheses are proposed for this last research question:

- More indicative mood answers will be produced with all information contexts (with lack of knowledge verbs).
- More subjunctive mood answers will be produced with no information contexts (with lack of knowledge verbs).

CHAPTER 3

SOCIOLINGUISTIC BACKGROUND

The focus of this chapter is the sociolinguistic profile of Peru, which is the main area considered in this study. As mentioned earlier, Peru is a region where variation in tense is higher than in other Latin American regions.²³ Although this type of variation is not as high as in Bolivian Spanish (according to Sessarego's findings presented in Chapter 2), it is still more frequent than in most dialects of the continent. Furthermore, if it is considered that variation in mood is very probable in Quechua-Spanish bilingual speakers, it is necessary to focus on this type of variation as well when studying Peruvian Spanish. The first section is a sociolinguistic description of Peru is presented, with information of the language contact situation and the speech communities that can be found in the region. The second section examines the dialect contact between Peruvian Spanish varieties, including the sociolinguistic situation in Lima, the city from where most of the participants of the study come. The third section focuses on bilingualism and types of bilingual speakers—particularly in the city of Ayacucho—in the Andean region of the country. Finally, the fourth section presents a brief description of Mexico City, the region from where the fourth group of participants comes.²⁴

3.1 Sociolinguistic and bilingual situation in Peru

Peru is a multilingual country with more than ninety languages in the whole territory, although most of them are spoken in the Amazonian region. Of the more than 25 million inhabitants in Peru, more than 4 million consider themselves native speakers of indigenous languages (including both monolinguals and bilinguals). Spanish is the most spoken language in the country, with 83.8% of the population who are native speakers (INEI 2012). Spanish is also the official language used in government and public institutions, although the current Constitution states that all languages are official in the regions where they are prevailing (Tribunal Constitucional 2013). In the Andean

²³ See Sessarego (2010) described in the Literature Review chapter (see Chapter 2).

²⁴ However, an actual description of the participants is provided in the Methodology chapter (see Chapter 4).

region, two main linguistic families are found: Aymara and Quechua. With regard to the second one, native speakers comprise 13.02% of the population, based on the 2007 Census (INEI 2012).

Of those roughly 3,360,331 Quechua native speakers, most are bilinguals, meaning that they also speak Spanish. In the Ayacucho department,²⁵ where one of the cities included in this study is located, most Quechua speakers are bilingual (Zavala 1999). For instance, 52.8% of children who were attending school in this department in 2006 were Quechua speakers (FUNPROEIB Andes 2009). There are no precise numbers regarding bilingual speakers in the country, but it is common to find bilingualism in Andean towns, with higher percentages among young people who attend school in Spanish (Sánchez 2004). Therefore, if these children were attending school, I can assume that they are Quechua-Spanish bilinguals, since classes are taught in Spanish in both public and private schools.

The Quechua-Spanish bilingualism situation has been present in Peru since the arrival of the Spaniards in the 16th century. Quechua speakers, since those times, have acquired Spanish as their second language in a very particular way, with certain linguistic transfer that can be found in both bilinguals of the past centuries and bilinguals in the present (Cerrón-Palomino 2003; A. Escobar 1977; A.M. Escobar 2001, 2007). In addition to similarities in the process of acquisition, the social standing of the Spanish and Quechua languages—with Spanish having prestigious status—have always influenced a negative characterization of bilinguals, such as prejudice and stigmatization. Because of this, there has always been a decrease in the amount of Quechua speakers in favor of Spanish (Zavala 1999). However, it is also possible to find people who claim to have acquired both languages as native (A.M. Escobar 2000).

Moreover, an important consequence of the language contact situation described above is the fact that bilinguals prefer to raise Spanish monolingual children. Thus, the variety of L2-Spanish characterized by transfer features from Quechua is the input that

²⁵ Peru is divided into twenty-four departments.

many children are exposed to in rural and urban areas of the Andes (Cerrón-Palomino 2003, De Granda 2003, A. Escobar 1977, A.M. Escobar 2000, Zavala 1999).²⁶ As a consequence, a contact dialect of Spanish emerged in the Andean region and is known as “Andean Spanish.” In Zavala’s words, “...in places where the standard norm is not present, Andean Spanish is passed from parents to kids despite of the fact that none of them speaks the indigenous language” (1999:26, my translation).

Therefore, not only have there always been numerous cases of bilinguals who speak Spanish with an influence from Quechua, but also there are many monolinguals that speak Andean Spanish that has features derived from its contact with Quechua. Of the L2 and native varieties of Andean Spanish, the varieties spoken by monolinguals are considered as social varieties with more stability (A.M. Escobar 2000).

Consequently, it is necessary to identify different varieties of Andean Spanish, since it is not one monolithic variety, due to the different sociolinguistic situations. Thus, L2-Andean Spanish and (native) Andean Spanish must be differentiated. Moreover, it is also necessary to differentiate between bilinguals living in the Andean region, bilinguals who migrated to a non-Andean region, monolinguals in either Andean or non-Andean regions, etc. Many of these varieties are the results of the Quechua-Spanish contact.

As Mufwene (2008) writes, new variants that arise in the language due to contact are added to the pool of variants that speakers use. It is from this pool that a variant (a contact variant) can be selected and propagate in the larger community, leading to a change in the language.²⁷ In Mufwene’s words: “Contact is such a significant factor because it makes the composition of the feature pool more heterogeneous. As this heterogeneity varies from one geographical setting to another, contact can cause the same language to evolve differentially” (255).

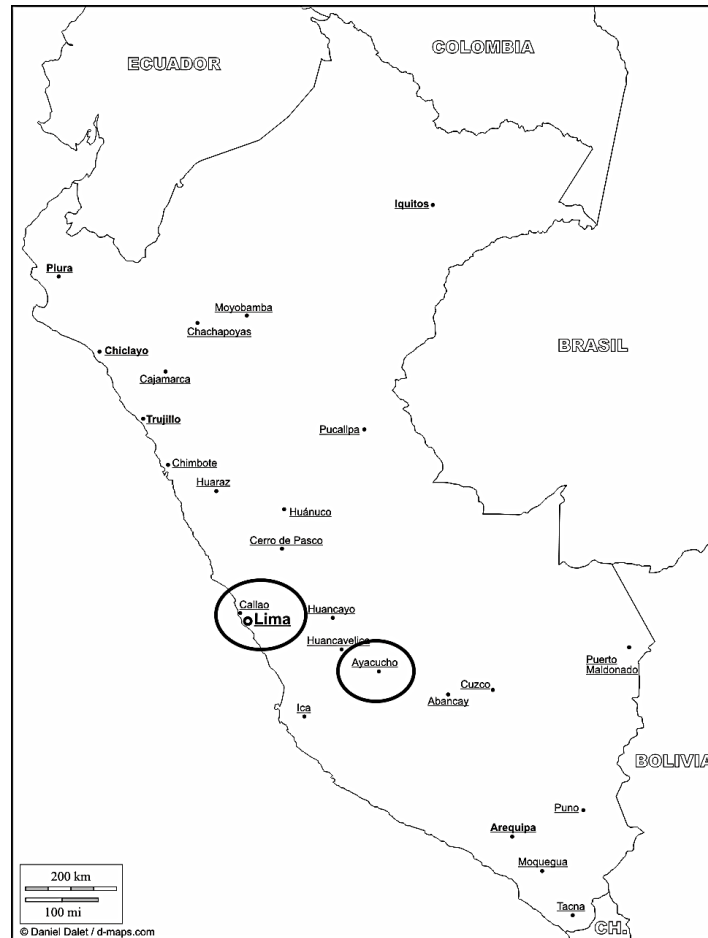
²⁶ And also in the non-Andean region, as it is described on the following pages

²⁷ See A.M. Escobar (2010) for the case of Spanish/Quechua contact.

Thomason (2010) proposes that intense contact is one of the most important social factors of a contact-induced change. Regions where there has been linguistic contact for a long time and where the level of bilingualism is high and widespread are more favorable to experience linguistic changes in both structural and lexical terms. In addition, Muysken (2010) argues that language contact can be studied in four different levels: (1) the individual level, where the bilingual speakers and their language practices are described, (2) the bilingual community level (or microlevel), where uses of the different languages according to the social settings are studied, (3) the geographical region, where comparative data and historical sources are taken into account, and (4) taking into consideration larger areas of the world in order to work with typological data. Of these four levels, the first two are of particular interest for my study of Peruvian Spanish.

In the present study, three different Peruvian groups are chosen. Two groups live in Lima: one in an area where Andean migrants are not the majority and the other one lives in an area mostly populated by Andean migrants. People who live in this last area are expected to share Andean Spanish features with their migrant families and/or neighbors, as it is described below. Finally, a third group comes from the city of Ayacucho in the Andean region of the country. Figure 2 is a map of Peru, where both cities, Lima and Ayacucho (foci of my study), are located by circles.

Figure 2 Map of Peru



3.2 Spanish dialect contact in Peru

Whereas the Andean region has been the primary region where language contact between Spanish and Quechua has occurred, the linguistic contact in non-Andean regions of the country is also present, although it has been mainly as a dialect contact situation: varieties of Spanish originally spoken in these places had to share space with varieties of Andean Spanish due to social factors such as massive migrations, further discussed below. This situation can be identified as an ideal scenario for dialect contact (Matras 2010).

The constant interaction between the dialects has been maintained in non-Andean regions like the capital, which has led to new linguistic patterns. For instance, Caravedo and Klee (2005) show that *leísmo* (the use of dative pronoun *le* as an accusative, such as

cuando es su cumpleaños, le sacan a almorzar “when it is her birthday, they take her for lunch”), a characteristic of Andean Spanish, but not of non-Andean Spanish, is present in migrant speakers’ use of Andean Spanish in Lima, as well as in the Spanish of second generation migrants (defined as adults who were born in Lima but whose parents had migrated from the Andes), and even in native first-generation *limeños* (speakers with no migrant background). Cerrón-Palomino (2003) suggests a list of some typical uses of “general Peruvian Spanish” as he says: the use of pluperfect to express surprise (*había tenido tres hijos* “I just found out she has three kids”), the use of *dice* ““it is said” to express secondhand information (*no vienen dice* “it is said that they’re not coming”), among others. A.M. Escobar (2009) mentions the use of [*Estar* “To be in a specific state” + Gerund] with state verbs to express duration, like in *estar viviendo* “to be living,” present in Andean Spanish in both the Andean region and Lima, and in the variety called *educated ribereño*, which refers to the most standard dialect spoken in Lima, and the country norm. Therefore, Andean Spanish traces are identified in the Spanish of Lima and in other large cities at different linguistic levels: lexical, syntactic, semantic, etc., as previously-mentioned some studies have suggested.

However, not all features have been adopted throughout the speech community; some features are not found in speakers of non-Andean origin. The reason why those features have not been adopted seems to be related to the evaluation that these speakers give to them. If the features have negative connotations, those features are not likely to be adopted. However, there are no previous studies that confirm this reason.

Trudgill (1986) mentions awareness as a main factor for speakers to modify their varieties. Thus, stigmatized (negatively evaluated) features within the community are perceived by speakers with greater levels of awareness, which are expressed in the speakers’ attitudes towards each feature (Thomason 2010). For instance, some phonological characteristics are highly salient for non-Andean speakers, and are stigmatized, which could explain why they are not adopted (Labov 2001). Trudgill adds that speakers are more aware of those phonetic features that are radically different from their own. One example is what has been called an assibilated /r/ (De los Heros 2001),

which is common in speakers of Andean Spanish varieties and is highly stigmatized, even among some Andean Spanish speakers.

On the other hand, unmarked or non-stigmatized features can be adopted more easily because of the lower level of awareness. In addition to Trudgill's claims, Britain (2010) points out that linguistic accommodation is very frequent in contexts of dialect contact: "[accommodation] becomes routine, and the variants that emerge as a result of accommodatory behavior gradually stabilize and become more durable characteristics of that person's linguistic repertoire" (209). In the case of Andean Spanish, non-salient features from Andean Spanish can be potentially adopted by non-Andean Spanish speakers living in Lima because migration has not ceased and linguistic contact occurs in their everyday lives.

When focusing on the results of these linguistic contact situations and the adoption of features by other speakers, it is possible to notice that Peruvian Spanish represents a continuum of varieties including Andean and non-Andean ones (A. Escobar 1977; Cerrón-Palomino 2003; A.M. Escobar 2009, 2010). Thus, features from one side (Andean dialects) can also be found being used on the other extreme (non-Andean dialects), in particular in Lima where speakers of numerous Spanish varieties are found.

3.2.1 Social triggers of dialect contact in Lima

As it was mentioned already, the contact situation in non-Andean regions of Peru was triggered by massive migration many decades ago. The main example of linguistic contact in the country is Lima, the capital of Peru, with a population of over 8 million inhabitants of which one third was born in a different region of the country (Arellano and Burgos 2010).

There are several different causes that explain the migration to the city. Before the 1950s, some migratory movements to the capital had already taken place. As a consequence, people who arrived in the city produced an expansion in the periphery zone because they took over non-populated public land in order to set up their homes. In the

middle of the century, an official decree recognized the existence of *pueblos jóvenes* as the new shanty-towns that had been created (Henríquez 1978). With this official recognition, the population of these new zones was able to resolve sanitary and violence problems (Arellano and Burgos 2010). Given this optimistic panorama, nothing could be expected except more migration. During this period, Lima held most of the profit and income of the entire country, contributing to this *pull* towards the city and the capital in particular. Its inhabitants, both old and newcomers, were able to spend their money, since there were many opportunities for working and selling products (Golte and Adams 1987, Henríquez 1978). In addition, the economic policies were not beneficial for every region of the country; while the cities benefited, rural areas did not. Moreover, these rural areas were the ones that experienced the highest population growth, so the fulfillment of basic needs was not possible, contributing to the *push* to migrate to the city (Altamirano 1977, Golte 2001).

Thus, problems in rural areas, which have existed for decades, were one of the main catalysts for migration. Other contributing factors to migration have been related to the social and political situation of the country. By the 1970s, the military government decreed the Agrarian Reform, by which land expropriation was applied all over the country. The apparent prosperity that ensued for the peasant population, however, was ephemeral; the lack of knowledge of how to administrate lands and the later desertion of the project led to the further increase of internal migration (Arellano and Burgos 2010).

A new contributing factor to migration also appeared during the 1980s. Terrorist violence affected the Andean regions, mainly the southern and central Andes (Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurímac departments). Therefore, a total of approximately 430,000 people decided to leave their place of origin to settle in the capital, that is, 22% of the population of the region (Arellano and Burgos 2010, Lloyd 1980). After twelve or thirteen years, when peace was reestablished in the Andean region, only a small percentage of this migrant group returned to their native places.

Migrants moved from different places within the country, but, as it has been mentioned, most of the migrant population in the country used to live in the Andean region. It is possible to claim that some towns were almost deserted due to these changes. At the other end of the spectrum, people who had already settled in Lima continued to invite other people to migrate to join them; they needed either reliable people to work for them (better if they were family members) or domestic assistants to do secondary work. This, of course, implies that more people migrated from places where previous groups had also migrated from (Golte and Adams 1987), which, in turn, can be understood as a snowball effect.

By the end of the 1980s, 42% of Lima's population was migrant and the number was still increasing due to a high birthrate, a birthrate that included the migrants' children (Golte and Adams 1987). The high rates of birth were due to the average age of migrants, who settled in the city in their teens and early twenties (Lloyd 1980). In the 1980s, the capital was still possessed most of the country's profits, with 58% of the gross domestic product and 98% of private investment (Arellano and Burgos 2010). Furthermore, more than 57% of people considered migrant in that year were included in an age group between fifteen and thirty-four, i.e. the settlement in the capital was still taking place at a very young age according to the National Census of 1993 (INEI 2012).

Interestingly, the percentage of actual migrants decreased throughout the decades due to the large number of children of migrants who were born in Lima: 44.6% in 1961, 45.8% in 1972, and 39.4% in 1993, based on the results of the 1993 Census (INEI 2012). That is, first generation children of migrants were not "counted" as belonging to the migrant population.

Taking into consideration the number of people who migrated to the capital since the 1950s, anthropologist Golte (2001) discusses the two different cities that were created inside Lima due to the massive migrations during these decades. On one side of the city, native people from Lima lived and worked; on the other side, was where the migrants lived. This latter side is mainly located in the outlying areas of the city: Ventanilla in the

north and Ciudad de Dios in the south (1950s), five new neighborhoods in the north (1960s), Villa El Salvador in the south and San Juan de Lurigancho in the east (1970s), with Pachacútec as the last big area (Arellano and Burgos 2010, Henríquez 1978, Lloyd 1980). This meant that not only new neighborhoods were created by the new inhabitants, but also new job opportunities emerged: workshops, factories, informal/street commerce and, later, shopping malls and markets. The “new city” was then created in geographical and economic terms, and also in cultural terms: people who shared the same geographical space also tended to share the same traditions, the same knowledge, and the same way of making plans for improving their lives (Golte 2001).

Throughout the years, new generations of *limeños* were born on both sides of the city. Focusing on numbers, it is completely evident that the new generations, mainly those who are descendants of migrants, were living in diverse areas of the capital. Furthermore, Lima, as the recipient of migratory movements, is estimated to nowadays have more than one half of a million of Quechua speakers (FUNPROEIB Andes 2009). Based on these numbers, Lima is actually the city or place with the largest amount of Quechua speakers in the world (Rodríguez-Mondoñedo 2008).

Today, only 12.7% of the population is considered *limeños clásicos* (no migrant parents or grandparents), whereas 36.2% are migrants, 43.5% have migrant parents and grandparents, and 7.6% have migrant grandparents but not migrant parents (Arellano and Burgos 2010). Given this scenario, interactions between the different groups are expected.

With most of the Lima population being born in Lima but of migrant descent, the Spanish spoken in the capital has a strong influence from Andean varieties, as it was detailed before. However, as migrants settled in specific areas of the city since the beginning of the massive migration, it is possible to find that some areas have more migrant background than others. Traditionally, Lima was divided in three areas: the

central area, the port of Callao,²⁸ and the *conos* (or peripheral areas). This third region was predominantly identified as the place of residence of migrants and/or low-income inhabitants. The problem with the traditional division is that, in the present, the *conos*, taken together represent the area where most of the population lives: 64% of more than 8.5 million people (INEI 2012). Therefore, it is necessary to consider a new geographical division that could better explain the characteristics of Lima inhabitants.

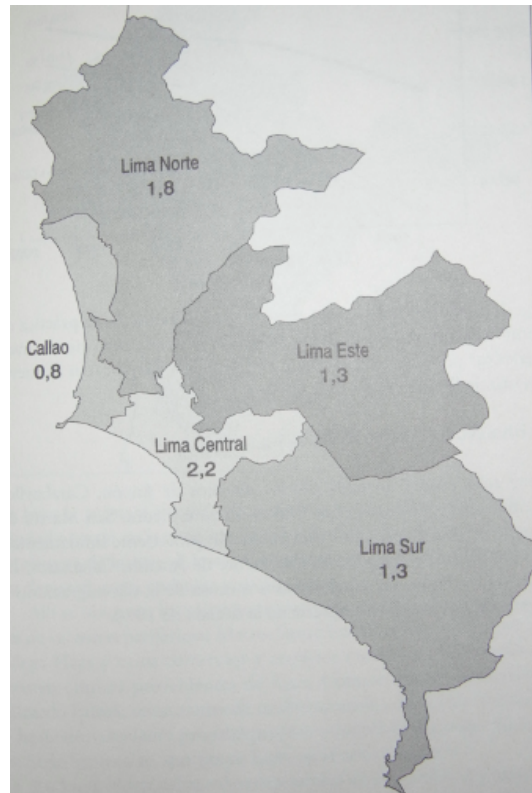
Nowadays, marketing companies have proposed a new division of the city based on economic and consumption habits (Cabrera 2011). The five new areas are shown in the map of the city in Figure 3. The advantage of this new division is that each area is also different in terms of the population's background. For instance, in *Lima Norte* ("North Lima"), migrants are mostly from the north part of Peru (both north coast and northern Andes); in *Lima Este* ("East Lima"), migrants are mainly from the central Andes; finally, in *Lima Sur* ("South Lima"), most migrants come from the southern Andes. On the other hand, *Lima Central* ("Central Lima") is the area with the highest amount of people who were born in the city to migrant parents, next to *limeños clásicos* (Arellano and Burgos 2010).

In the current study, the first and the second group of participants are comprised of speakers that live in Lima, but in different areas. The first group lives in the district of Chorrillos, which is part of *Lima Central*; the second group lives in the district of Villa el Salvador, in *Lima Sur*. My study aimed at making a comparison between two groups living in Lima: one with a high migrant background and one with no or lower migrant background. For this reason, the selection of districts within Lima from which the participants come was based on the five areas division presented above.²⁹ All the informants were high school students from schools in the specific areas.

²⁸ The port of Callao is considered part of Lima since there is no geographical division between them (see Figure 3).

²⁹ As it was described before, a third group lives in Ayacucho, in the Andean region.

Figure 3 Map of Lima divided in areas³⁰ (Arellano and Burgos 2010)



3.2.2 Groups of the study in Lima

Considering the main differences already presented for the two areas of Lima included in this study, I provide a description of each particular district where schools of participants were located. Lima is divided into forty-nine districts. According to Arellano and Burgos (2010) division of the city, seventeen districts are located in *Lima Central*, whereas eleven are part of *Lima Sur*. The remaining districts are in the other areas of Lima.

3.2.2.1 Least migrant group

As a traditional district that has been part of the city for centuries, Chorrillos is presently included in the central area of Lima. Moreover, what is known now as

³⁰ Numbers express the amount of inhabitants per area (in millions). However, they do not correspond to the actual numbers, which are given on the previous page.

Chorrillos was highly connected to estates and other areas of Lima during colonial period and in the early independent decades (Flores-Zúñiga 2009). *Lima Central* has the highest index of population density and is the area with most access to services (telephony, Internet, cable television, supermarkets, malls, etc.), e.g. 86.9% of people go to supermarkets to buy groceries (Arellano and Burgos 2010). As a district of a big city, inhabitants focus mainly on urban activities, which is not different from the characteristics of the district where my second group lives. Nevertheless, this district differs from Chorrillos in terms of the origins of their inhabitants.

Based on the National Census of 2007, the current population of Chorrillos is more than 280,000 inhabitants. Of these, 18.74% state that, when they were born, their mothers were living in the Andean region (meaning that it is highly probable that they could have lived there at least during their early childhood).³¹

With regard to the group with no or low migrant background, participants were selected from a school in the district of Chorrillos, in *Lima Central*. This district is considered part of the traditional area of the capital, i.e. it is one of the oldest districts that constituted the urban area of the city since the 1960s, when migratory waves were at their height (Henríquez and Ponce 1985).

3.2.2.2 Most migrant group

Looking at the second group, the one with most migrant background, participants were students from a school located in the district of Villa el Salvador, in *Lima Sur* (refer to map in Figure 2), which was previously mentioned as a main migrant area. Villa el Salvador has always been considered an emblematic district of Lima due to its historical characteristics: its founding completely differs from the way other districts of the city were created. In 1971, a group of low-income families (approximately 200) decided to carry out an organized land invasion in an area where the State had designated lots for employees of one of its Ministries. Most of the people who participated in this invasion

³¹ Unfortunately, the census did not include a question about the region where inhabitants were born.

were young migrants. After the press disseminated the news, other families joined the original group – making up a total of 9,000 families. Negotiations between the government and the invaders produced the government’s formal permission for people to settle in a different place, a sandy region in the periphery of Lima (20 km south from what was the city in that year). Plans, made by engineers and government employees, were started to design the new living area. But the main ideas of how this “new city” was going to be built were determined by its highly organized inhabitants, whose tireless efforts were necessary due to the roughness of the area, with no basic public services at all. Later, in 1983, the district of Villa el Salvador was officially created (Blondet 1991, Lloyd 1980, Peattie 1990, VESPeru 2012).

The new area was created and designed by the inhabitants and the government based on a project called “experimental-model self-managed project,” which aimed to create a city with a complex local organization representing the neighbors. An important part of the project was the plan of including both residential and industrial zones for the inhabitants to both live and work in their district (Blondet 1991, Burga and Delpech 1988). Nowadays, Villa el Salvador is considered as part of the southern area of Lima, where the majority of inhabitants are migrants from the southern Andes. Within the district, neighbors have access to supermarkets, entertainment and recreation places, etc. For instance, in the southern area of the city (Villa el Salvador and its surrounding districts), an average of 65.4% of people go to supermarkets to buy groceries. Regarding entertainment, 65% of people living in the southern area prefer to find entertainment within their area, whereas only 26% goes to other areas of the capital, as Arellano and Burgos (2010) find. These authors summarize these data as follows: “People live in the area, work in the area, buy groceries in the area, and also, are entertained in the area” [my translation] (162).

According to the National Census of 2007, the current population of Villa el Salvador is more than 360,000 inhabitants. Of these, 22.86% states that, when they were born, their mothers were living in the Andean region (INEI 2012).

When comparing the districts where participants of both groups in Lima live, it is possible to find similarities. Since both are districts of the same urban area, the main labor activities are related to exchange situations and services. The majority of inhabitants in both districts work on retail sales and manufacturing industries, as Table 8 shows.

Table 8 Main work areas of the population (Chorrillos and Villa el Salvador)³²

Work areas	Chorrillos	Villa el Salvador
Retail sales	17.41%	21.36%
Manufacturing industries	12.79%	16.51%
Real estate activities and tenancy	10.22%	7.97%
Transportation, wholesale, and communication	10.18%	11.15%
Construction	6.70%	8.61%
Hotels and restaurants	6.08%	6.26%

On the other hand, some differences are found in the comparison, as presented in Table 9. For instance, there are more native speakers of Quechua in Villa el Salvador (most-migrant area) than in Chorrillos (least-migrant area). On the contrary, the latter has higher numbers of Spanish native speakers. In this same direction, more literate people, more school students, and more people with high school and college level are found in Chorrillos. This difference between the two districts is important for seeing if there are any differences in how exposed the population has been to the standard variety of Spanish taught in schools.

³² Categories used by the National Census of 2007

Table 9 Main linguistic and educational characteristics of the population (Chorrillos and Villa el Salvador)

Linguistic and educational characteristics		Chorrillos	Villa el Salvador
Native language	Spanish	93.37%	90.92%
	Quechua	6.05%	8.33%
Education level completed	Elementary	21.15%	22.35%
	High school	40.31%	39.70%
	College	9.28%	5.32%
Literacy	Literate	93.27%	92.36%
	Illiterate	6.73%	7.64%
School attendance (ages 3-24)	Attends	90.49%	89.32%
	Does not attend	9.51%	10.68%

Finally, as I previously mentioned, a clear distinction between the two areas can be found when looking at the place where the mothers of inhabitants were living in when inhabitants were born: whereas 18.74% of mothers in Chorrillos were living in the Andean region at the time, 22.86% of mothers in Villa el Salvador were living in that same region at the time. When considering that these percentages suggest what the place of origin of the inhabitants is, it is possible to see that there are more people with Andean origins in Villa el Salvador than in Chorrillos.

3.3 Andes and Andean Bilingual Group

With regard to the Andean bilingual group, the selected group lives in Ayacucho, a city in the southern Andes of Peru who are all Quechua-Spanish bilinguals.³³ The Quechua variety spoken in the department of Ayacucho has 900,000 speakers – 300,000 of which are monolinguals (Lewis, Simons, and Fennig 2013).

³³ More specific details regarding the type of bilinguals those speakers are will be given in the Methodology chapter (see Chapter 4).

The city of Ayacucho is an urban region located 351 miles away from Lima. It is the capital and main city of the department of Ayacucho, with a population of 100,935 according to the Census of 2007 (2012). As a department capital, the city of Ayacucho is home to governmental and other institutional offices. Moreover, all universities and national business companies that work in the department are located there, and there is intense, daily commercial activity. As Table 10 shows, the population's main work sectors define this city as an urban area.

Table 10 Main work sectors of the population (Ayacucho)³⁴ (INEI 2012)

Work sectors			
Commercial sector, automobile mechanics	22.84%	Retail sales	19.80%
Teaching	11.25%	Manufacturing industries	8.87%
Transportation, communication	7.74%	Construction	7.14%

Based on the National Census data, 68.48% answered that Spanish was their native language, whereas 31.11% answered that Quechua (see Table 11). There is no information about how many of these speakers acquired both languages at home, i.e. how many consider both as their native languages, or how many speak one of those as a second language (mostly Spanish). Other demographic data relevant for my study are also presented in Table 11. It is important to focus on educational characteristics of the population because participants in my study are adolescents who attend high schools in the city. As it is shown, literate people in Ayacucho represent a higher percentage than the amount of Spanish native speakers in the city. This suggests that at least 20% of the population is bilingual, since literacy through schooling is only administered in Spanish. This same observation can be made for students who were attending school in the year that the Census was carried out (75.63% of people between the ages of 3 and 24).

³⁴ Translation from categories used by the National Census of 2007

Table 11 Main linguistic and educational characteristics of the population (Ayacucho) (INEI 2012)

Native language		Education level completed		Literacy		School attendance (ages 3-24)	
Spanish	68.48%	Elementary school	26.34%	Literate	88.58%	Attends	75.63%
Quechua	31.11%	High school	30.11%	Illiterate	11.42%	Does not attend	24.37 %
		College	11.57%				

The methodology chapter of this study provides more specific details about the participants of the Andean group and in particular information about their bilingualism characteristics.

3.4 Control group: The Mexican group

The fourth group of the study does not speak a variety of Peruvian Spanish (and its members do not live in Peru). This group was included as the control group in order to develop a comparison between Peruvian Spanish and another Latin American dialect. One main reason to choose Mexican Spanish as the fourth variety of the study was the lower frequency of tense variation in this dialect found by Sessarego in his study of 2010. In his list of dialects categorized by countries, Mexican Spanish is located in the second half of the table, with lower percentages than the ones for Peruvian Spanish (see Section 2.1 in the Literature Review chapter).

Moreover, the Mexican variety selected for this study was the Spanish spoken in Mexico City, the capital of the country. Mexico City was chosen because it is a big urban area like Lima. More than 8 million people live in the city (and more than 15 million in the entire State of Mexico,³⁵ which makes a total of more than 23 million inhabitants in the whole urban area), according to the 2010 Census (INEGI 2010). In addition to that,

³⁵ Mexico is comprised of thirty-one states, including the State of Mexico and the Federal District.

the Mexican capital also shows great influence from migrants from different areas of the country, including speakers of indigenous languages. These two characteristics make the city even more similar to Lima.

Although there are speakers of indigenous languages in Mexico City (122,411 according to the 2010 Census), this group only represents less than 1.5% of the city's population. Thus, in order to be sure that my participants would not be part of this percentage or have close relationships with this part of the population, I only chose speakers who were Spanish monolinguals, born and raised in Mexico City, and with no relatives who had migrated from areas with indigenous presence. Along with this, people who had foreign family or had lived abroad were not taken in consideration. More details about the social characteristics of this group are provided in the Methodology chapter.

In summary, the four groups of participants included in the study belong to four different regions. Within Peru, a continuum of dialects can be observed based on their characteristics, where the least migrant group of Lima lives in an area where the variety of Spanish spoken is expected to be closer to the standard variety. On the contrary, the bilingual group lives in a region where the Andean features of their Spanish are very different from the standard variety. In addition to that, the control group from Mexico was included because, with regard to the specific phenomena studied in this dissertation, Mexico City is expected to be a region where standard features are produced more frequently than in Peru.

CHAPTER 4

METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, I present a description of the methodological aspects of the study. The first section describes the four groups of participants of the study (Spanish monolinguals living in Lima in a zone mostly inhabited by non-migrants, Spanish monolinguals living in Lima in a zone mostly inhabited by migrants from the Andes, Quechua-Spanish bilinguals living in an urban zone in Ayacucho, and Spanish monolinguals living in Mexico City). In the second section, I give a description of the three linguistic factors of the study: the type of verb in the main clause, the expression of time in the subordinate clause event, and the degree of knowledge of the speaker. The third section presents the experimental design of the study, i.e. the tests administered to the participants. The primary tasks included the production task, the tasks that were specific for the Andean group of subjects (the production task in Quechua, the proficiency test in Spanish, and the Quechua evaluation rate). As a secondary task, a subgroup of three participants per group was also given the acceptability judgment task. The fourth section of the chapter describes the procedure for the data collection and coding of answers, whereas the fifth and final section analyzes the results.

4.1 Participants

There are four groups of participants included in the study,³⁶ with different backgrounds and, in general, from different living areas. The first and the second group are people who were born and live in Lima, the capital of Peru. The third is a group of bilingual speakers who were born in the Andean region of Ayacucho, Peru. Lastly, the fourth group is made up of people born and living in Mexico City, Mexico.

The three groups of Peruvian Spanish represent varieties of three different points of the dialectal continuum. A sociolinguistic background questionnaire (see Appendix A) with questions about his or her socio-demographic and sociolinguistic characteristics was administered to each subject. With these answers, more homogeneity (in terms of age,

³⁶ Recruited following procedures approved by IRB 10259

languages, socioeconomic status, etc.) was ensured within each group. Thus, based on this information, the four groups of participants are the following:

- Least migrant group: Spanish monolingual speakers living in Lima, Peru (non-Andean region) in a zone mostly inhabited by non-migrants.
- Most migrant group: Spanish monolingual speakers living in Lima, Peru (non-Andean region) in a zone mostly inhabited by migrants from the Andes
- Bilingual group: Quechua-Spanish speakers living in an urban zone in Ayacucho, Peru (Andean region)
- Mexican group: Spanish monolingual speakers living in Mexico City, Mexico

The district containing the least migrant group is located in *Lima Central* (“Central Lima”) and the district where the second group with most migrant background lives is in *Lima Sur* (“South Lima”). This allows us to recreate a continuum of varieties of Peruvian Spanish according to the degree of contact with Quechua and Andean Spanish. In *Lima Sur*, most of the migrants who live there are from the southern Andes and, in particular, from Ayacucho (15% of migrants in the area, the highest percentage). Finally, the third group of the study lives in the city of Ayacucho, in the department of the same name, located in the Andean region. The continuum is summarized below.

Non-Andean Varieties		Andean Varieties
Least migrant group	Most migrant group	Bilingual group
Lima Central	Lima Sur	Ayacucho

The reason to include the Mexican group is to test whether or not variation in tense is indeed produced at a much higher frequency in Peruvian Spanish than in other Latin American dialects, as Sessarego (2010) found.³⁷ Moreover, a comparison of the linguistic constraints in the oral production between Mexican Spanish and three different dialects of Peruvian Spanish could let us see how different these three Peruvian varieties really are.

³⁷ See Literature Review chapter (see Section 2.2.1).

Participants were also asked about their social networks, similar to Melançon's (2000) methods. In their sociolinguistic background information, participants discussed their interactions with other inhabitants of their district, and how often they went outside their district to interact with other people, etc. With this information, I can hypothesize about their social networks, which can say something about dialect contact in those areas.

In the cases of the most migrant and least migrant groups, who both live in a very big city, it is necessary to know how integrated they are with their neighborhood/district, and the rest of the city; that is, whether they have close-knit or more loose social networks. Close networks suggest less contact with other varieties and lower probability to adopt new linguistic forms. Open networks, on the other hand, would suggest more exposure to different variants (Meyerhoff 2007, Milroy 1980). With regard to the bilingual group, it was considered that the interaction of participants with their neighborhoods would not make a difference between close and open networks. This is due to the fact that the city of Ayacucho, where participants in the bilingual group live, is much smaller than Lima (around 200,000 inhabitants), and interaction among inhabitants for all areas of the city is frequent and expected.

In order to determine the type of social networks that my first and second groups in Lima had, I used an index of network characteristics based on Melançon (2000), a simplified version of the instrument created by Milroy in 1980. In her study about Creole identity in Louisiana, Melançon asks five questions about the participants' social background. Those questions were related to five social characteristics: time, proximity, occupation, activities, and in-group. Melançon's questions are the following:

1. How long has the individual lived in the area? (Time)
2. Is the individual's spouse a member of a long-time local family in town? (Proximity)
3. Does the individual work in town? (Occupation)
4. How many of the individual's recreational activities take place in town? (Activities)
5. How many of the individual's friends live in town? (In-group)

Taking these questions as a starting point, I formulated five questions specific to the type of groups included in my study. Thus, of the five social characteristics, I took into account four: time, proximity, activities, and in-group. Given that my groups are made up of high school students, it was not relevant to consider occupation. The five questions are the following:

1. How long has your family lived in Lima? (Time)
2. How long has your family lived in this district? (Proximity)
3. Do you do recreational activities (going out, movies, shopping, etc.) with your family in your district? (Activities)
4. Do you spend your free time (going out with friends, sports, do errands, etc.) in your district? (Activities)
5. Do you go out with your classmates? (In-group)

In her study, Melançon gave scores from 1 to 4 to the answers of each question, with a lowest possible combined score of 5 and a highest possible score of 20. People with the densest networks got lower scores, whereas people with the most open networks got higher scores. Thus, a score of 5 means that the individual has a very dense network whereas a score of 20 means that the individual has a very open network. In my study, I used the same scale of scores, which is presented in Table 12. This information can give some insight into how contact between dialects in the Peruvian capital can emerge.

Table 12 Scale of scores based on Melançon (2000)

Score	Answer to questions 1-5
1	Always/all
2	Usually/most
3	Sometimes/some
4	Never/none

With respect to their social network scales, results for the least migrant group show that they mainly comprise an open social network. In order to see what type of social networks participants had, I used Melançon’s division of three types of networks according to the total score that each individual was assigned. Considering that 5 is the lowest possible and 20 is the highest possible score, Melançon divided the continuum of scores in three levels: a close-knit network with indices of 5, 6, and 7; a midrange network with indices of 8 and 9, and an open network with indices of 10 and above. This division was made based on “very obvious breaks in the general index” (Melançon 2000: 150).

I used the same division proposed by Melançon. Thus, most of the participants (15 out of 24) got high scores, which means they have very open social networks, as Table 13 shows. Also, the chi-square run to compare subgroups of open and medium networks showed no significant differences between them. Given these results, I expect to find greater contact with other varieties and exposure to new linguistic forms.

Table 13 Social Networks for the Group 1 – Least migrant group (based on Melançon 2000)

Network Scale	Total Number of Individuals
Close-knit Network (indices 5, 6, and 7)	2
Mid-range Network (indices 8 and 9)	7
Open Network (indices 10 and above)	15

Regarding the social networks that subjects in the most migrant group participate in, the scale of social characteristics—based on Melançon (2000)—showed that most of them (18 out of 27) have more open social networks than the other nine, as Table 14 summarizes. The chi-square to compare open and medium networks subgroups revealed no significant differences between them.

Table 14 Social Networks for the Group 2 – Most migrant group (based on Melançon 2000)

Network Scale	Total Number of Individuals
Close-knit Network (indices 5, 6, and 7)	1
Mid-range Network (indices 8 and 9)	8
Open Network (indices 10 and above)	18

The most migrant group results, just as the least migrant results, confirm that my participants have very open social networks, which is an optimal situation for being exposed to new linguistic variants due to the constant interaction with other linguistic groups in the city. Both most migrant and least migrant groups do some activities outside of their region, which leads to posit that they have open social networks. This suggests, in turn, that there is some degree of contact between these first two groups and/or between the varieties spoken by each group. This will be taken into account when analyzing the main results of the study.

4.1.1 The least migrant group in Lima

With regard to the first group (least migrant), participants were selected from a school in the district of Chorrillos.³⁸ The school where students were selected from is Juan Pablo II in the San Genaro neighborhood of Chorrillos. This is a public school for boys and girls and it has three educational levels: kindergarten, elementary, and high school. As a typical public school, it follows the guidelines of the Ministry of Education in terms of organization, calendars, and curriculum.

Students in the least migrant group are in the third, fourth, and fifth grade of high school (the last three grades of high school). There were twenty-four participants, whose social characteristics are presented in Table 15 and Figures 4, 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9. Table 15 shows that subjects are all Spanish monolinguals and most of them were born in Lima (although this is not the case for their parents, as shown below). On the other hand, the

³⁸ Chorrillos represents a district with the least migrant background, as presented in the Sociolinguistic Background chapter of this dissertation (see Section 3.2.2.1 in Chapter 3).

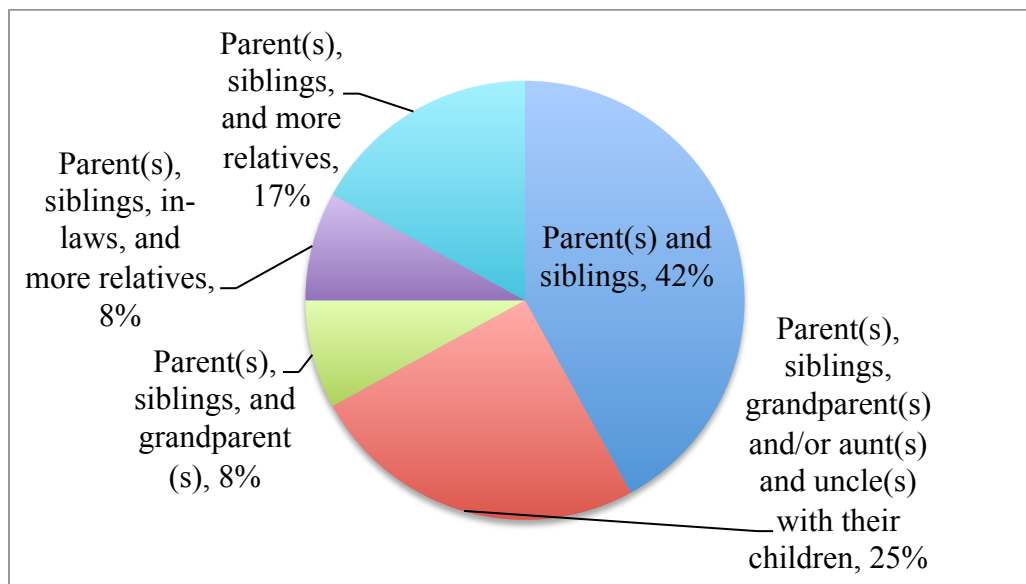
group was mostly equally divided in terms of gender, with an age average of 15.6 (the youngest participant was 13 and the eldest, 18).

Table 15 Social characteristics of the least migrant group (n = 24)

Gender	Male = 10 Female = 14	Age average	15.6 (Range = 13-18)
Birthplace	Lima = 18 Non-Andean region of Peru = 3 Andean region = 3	Languages	Spanish monolinguals = 24

Figure 4 shows that all of the members of the least migrant group live with their parents and siblings (42%), but most (58%) also also with their extended family: grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins.

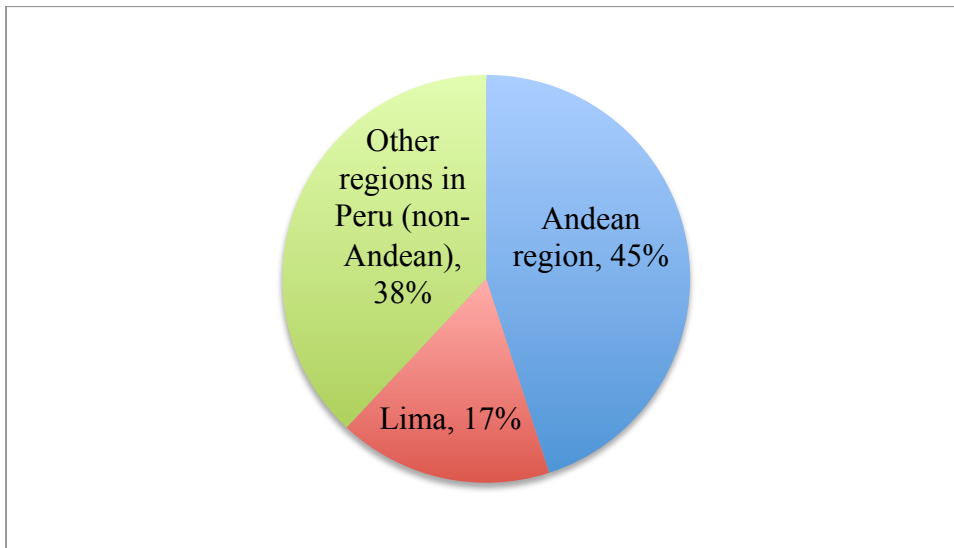
Figure 4 Family members at home (Least migrant group)³⁹



³⁹ Relatives such as aunts, uncles, cousins, nephews, nieces, grandparent's siblings, parent's cousins, etc.; also in-laws like siblings' spouses

In general, the families—including parents (in all cases) and grandparents (in cases where participants knew their origins)—are mostly migrants from both the Andean region and the non-Andean regions, representing 83% of the cases (see Figure 5). That is, the adolescents of my study are mainly first generation born in Lima. It is true that most of the parents of the participants are migrants; however, 38% are not from the Andean region, i.e. they might have migrated from the northern coast or the Amazonian region of the country. Furthermore, the 45% with parents who are Andean migrants still represent a lower percentage than the percentage of the Andean families in the most migrant group, who live in a mostly migrant district (70.37%).⁴⁰

Figure 5 Place of origin of the family (Least migrant group)⁴¹



Of these migrant families, about 54% has been living in Lima for more than twenty years (see Figure 6) and are mostly Spanish monolinguals (see Figure 7). This last figure presents percentages of what languages parents (and sometimes grandparents) speak, although the 29% that are bilinguals only speak Spanish with the participants, as they reported.

⁴⁰ See Figure 11 of this chapter.

⁴¹ Mainly parents

Figure 6 Time living in Lima (family) (Least migrant group)⁴²

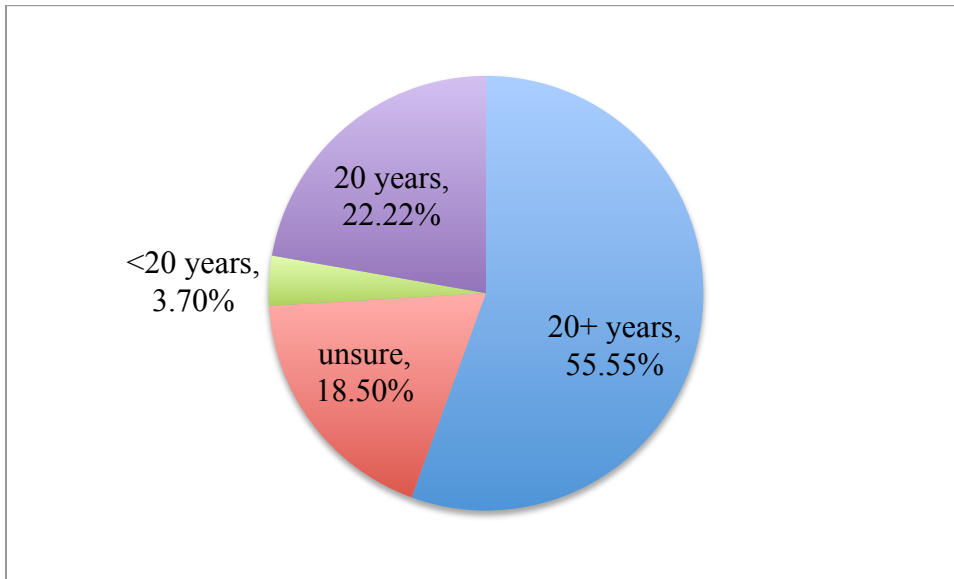
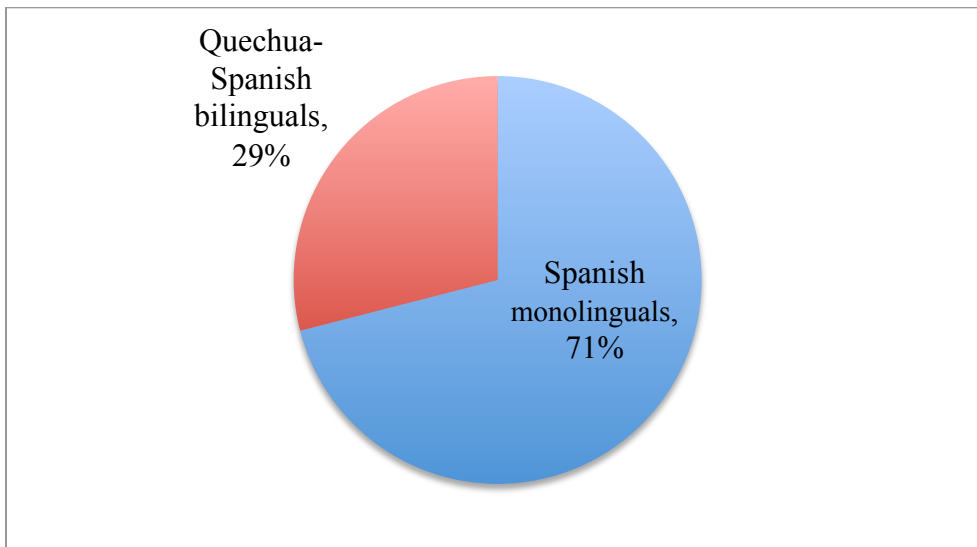


Figure 7 Languages of the family (Least migrant group)⁴³

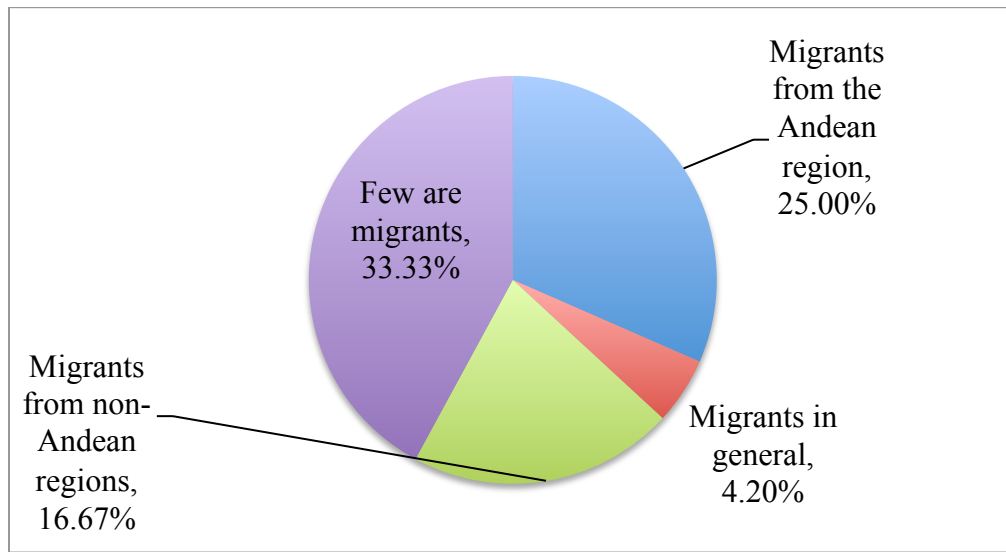


According to what they reported, the participants are mainly friends with their neighbors, who are not migrants in most of the cases (see Figure 8). In order to derive the data for Figure 8, 20% of the answers were not counted because five participants did not have enough information about their neighbors, so their answers were not considered.

⁴² Mainly parents

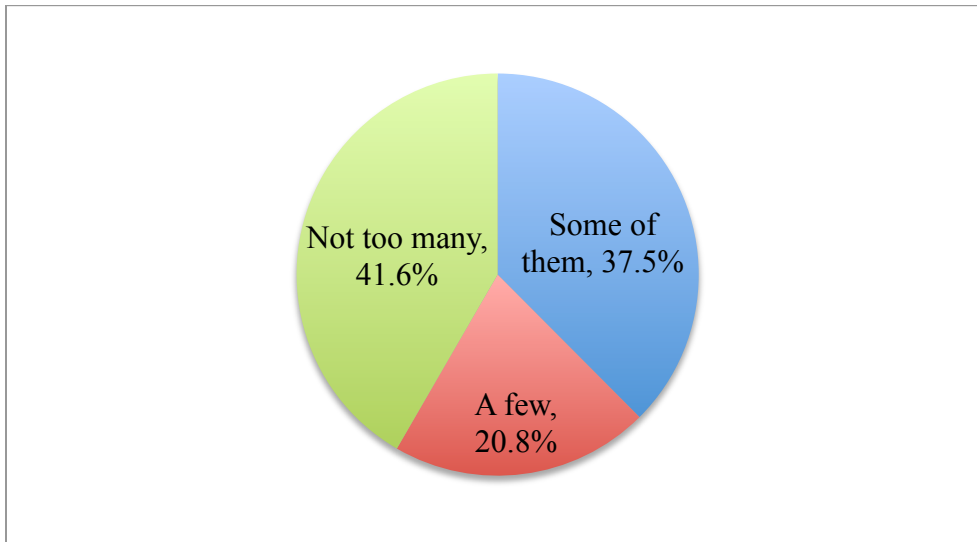
⁴³ Mainly parents

Figure 8 Place of origin of the neighbors (Least migrant group)



When the adolescents were asked about what activities they prefer to do on weekends and when they are not in school, participants said that sometimes they visit relatives, but in general they spend time with their parents or friends. For instance, participants like to go with their families to buy groceries at the markets or supermarkets, go for a walk at the mall, etc. With their friends, they prefer to go to the movies, play soccer, and spend time in public Internet cafes. As it was presented for their social network scores, this group spends some of this time outside of their district, since most of them had very open social networks. Interestingly, as shown in Figure 9, they don't see their school friends very often.

Figure 9 Contact with school friends outside of school⁴⁴ (Least migrant group)



To summarize, in most cases, the everyday activities of this group are done within the central area of the capital, many times in their district where most neighbors are Spanish monolinguals (and Spanish is the language most often used at home, according to the answers of participants). With respect to their families, although most of them originated from an Andean origin, Andean migrants represent less than 50% of the whole group and most participants (54%) have lived in Lima for more than twenty years. These numbers are relevant when comparing the social background of the first group to the background of the second one.

4.1.2 The most migrant group in Lima

Looking at the second group, participants were students from a school located in the district of Villa el Salvador.⁴⁵ The school that participants attend is the Fe y Alegría School Number 17. Fe y Alegría is an international movement focused on education and social promotion in Latin America. It began working in Peru in 1966 and currently manages seventy-nine institutions in the country. Their schools follow the guidelines of the movement's mission and of the Ministry of Education. Thus, their curriculum is

⁴⁴ The question was "Do you spend time with your classmates outside of school?"

⁴⁵ Villa el Salvador has been described as a district with high migrant background in the Sociolinguistic Background chapter of this dissertation (see Section 3.2.2.2 in the Sociolinguistic Background chapter).

similar to the one used by other public schools in the country. School number 17 is located in downtown Villa el Salvador. It has the three educational levels of a typical Peruvian public school (kindergarten, elementary and high school) and hosts Catholic pastoral activities every week for its students.

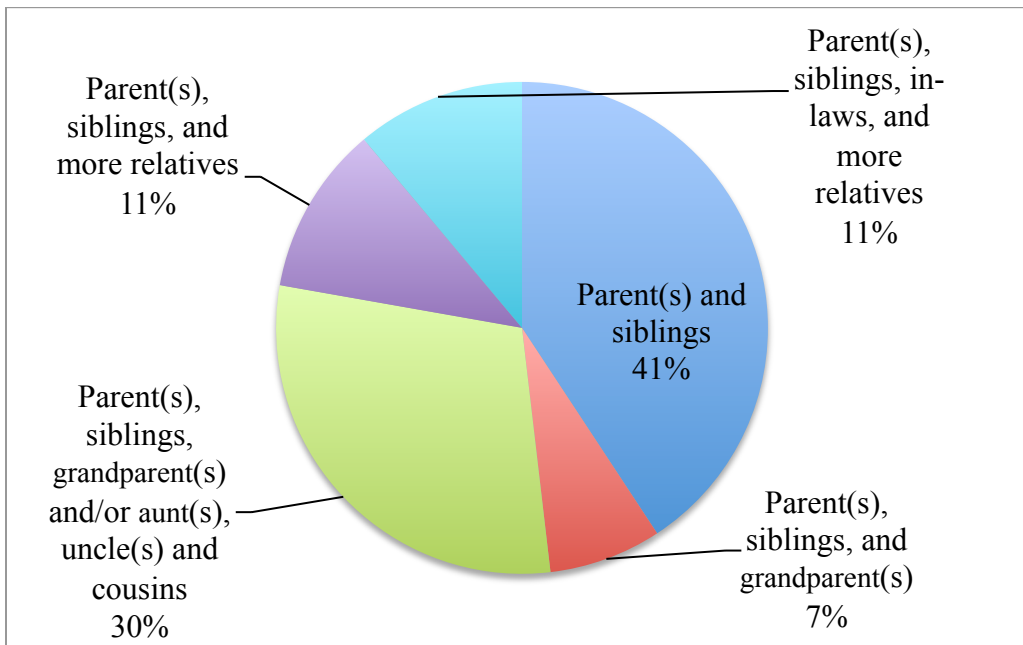
The students who make up the most migrant group of this study were selected among students of third, fourth, and fifth grade of high school. There were twenty-seven participants, whose social characteristics are presented in Table 16 and Figures 10, 11, 12, 13, 14 and 15. Table 16 shows that the participants are all Spanish monolinguals and all but one were born in Lima. This group was divided almost equally in terms of gender, with an age average of 15.3 (the youngest member was 14 and the eldest, 18).

Table 16 Social characteristics of the most migrant group (n = 27)

Gender	Male = 14 Female = 13	Age average	15.3 (Range = 14-18)
Birthplace	Lima = 26 Non-Andean region of Peru = 1	Languages	Spanish monolinguals = 27

In Figure 10, it is possible to see that the majority of the participants live with their parents and siblings (41%), whereas the others live with more relatives, like grandparents, aunts, uncles, and cousins.

Figure 10 Family members at home (Most migrant group)⁴⁶



Seventy percent of families are migrants from the Andean region (see Figure 11) and 77% have been living in the capital for twenty or more years, as shown in Figure 12. They also claim to be friends with the neighbors, who, as seen in Figure 13, are mainly migrants, either from Andean or non-Andean regions.

⁴⁶ Relatives such as aunts, uncles, cousins, nephews, nieces, grandparent's siblings, parent's cousins, etc; in-laws as siblings' spouses.

Figure 11 Place of origin of the family (Most migrant group)⁴⁷

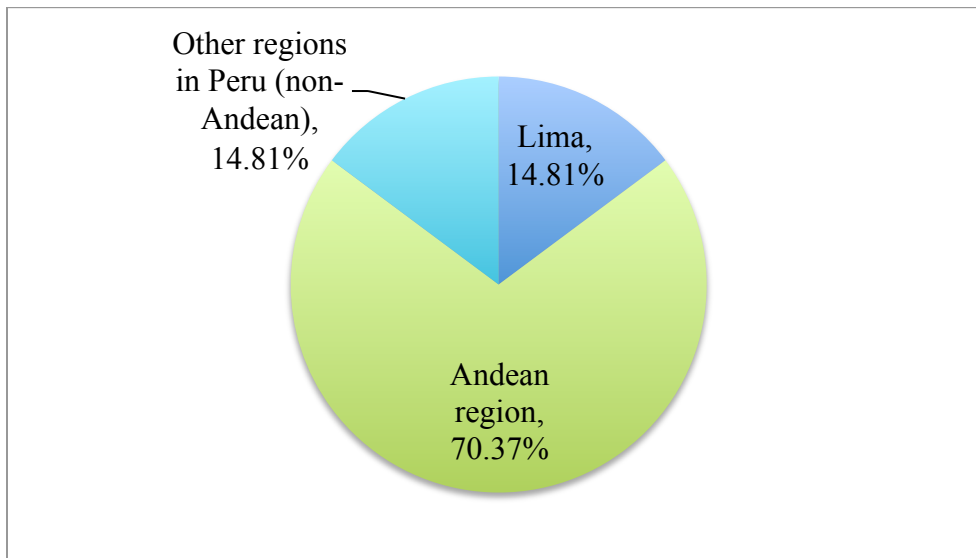
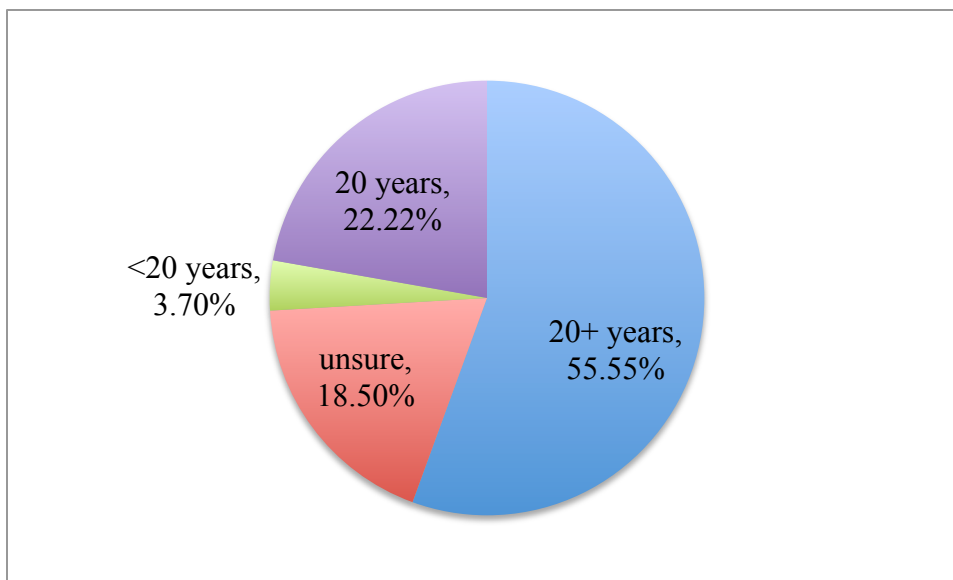


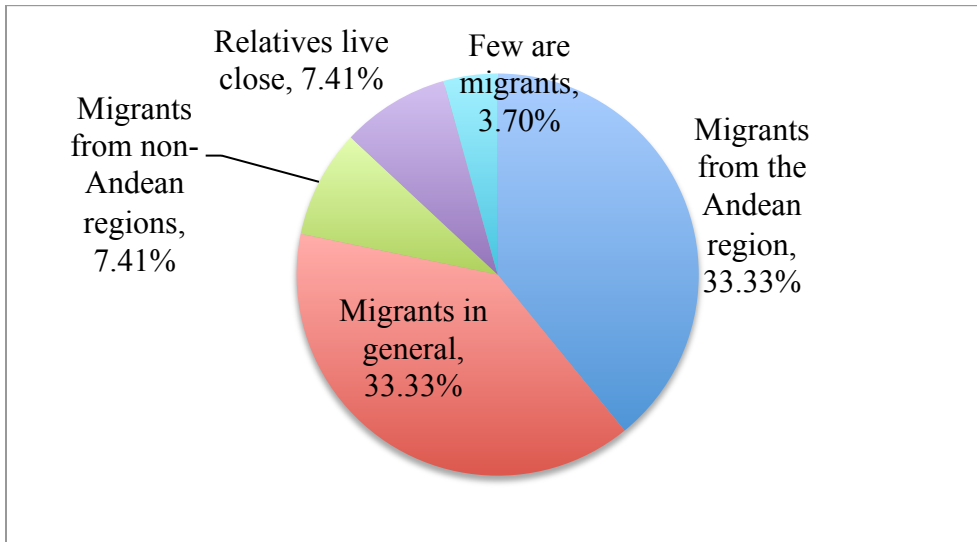
Figure 12 Time living in Lima (family) (Most migrant group)⁴⁸



⁴⁷ Mainly parents

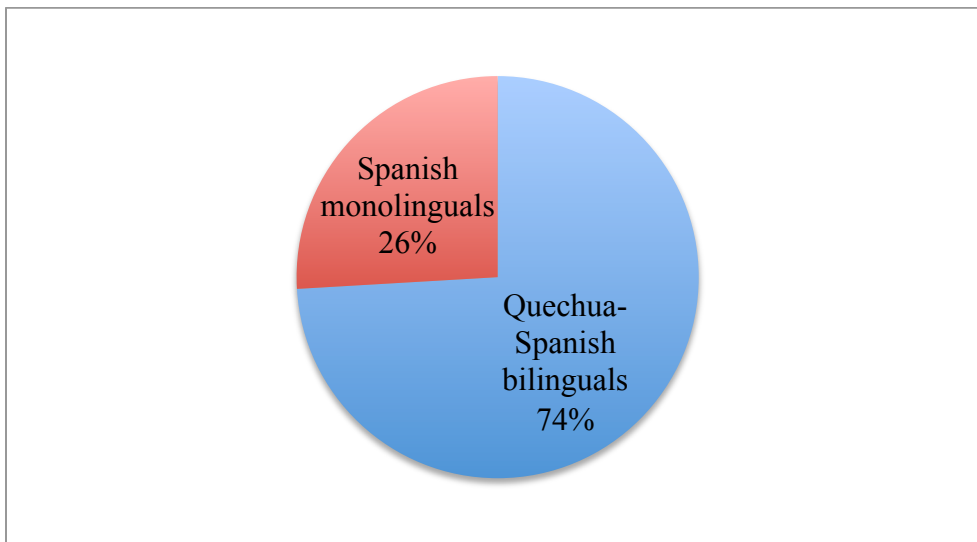
⁴⁸ Mainly parents

Figure 13 Place of origin of neighbors (Most migrant group)⁴⁹



With regard to the languages they speak, and different from the least migrant group, there is at least one parent who is Quechua-Spanish bilingual in 74% of the families, as presented in Figure 14.

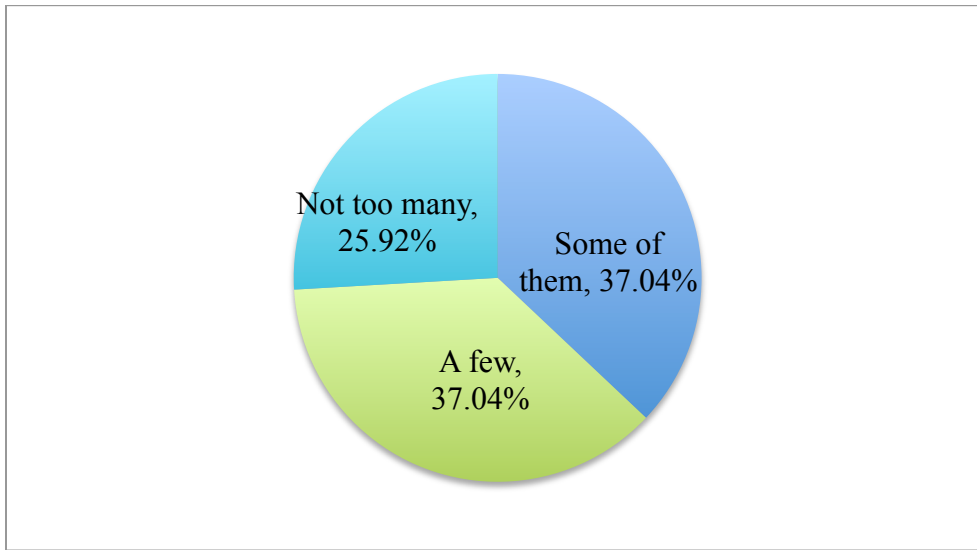
Figure 14 Languages of the family (Most migrant group)⁵⁰



⁴⁹ Most of neighbors

⁵⁰ Mainly parents

Figure 15 Contact with school friends outside of school (Most migrant group)



As can be seen in Figure 15, the participants reported that they see only some or a few of their school friends. Instead, participants said that they visit other relatives very frequently and do other recreation activities on weekends and while they are not in school, mainly within the district but also sometimes outside. Outside the district, they participate in fan clubs for their favorite singers and go to English classes, and if they go with their families, many times they go to the movies, malls, or supermarkets. Within the district, it is more common for them to spend time with friends from their neighborhood or the school; for instance, they play videogames at friends' homes, participate in pastoral activities, play soccer, and spend time in public Internet cafes. Although some of their entertaining activities are done outside the district, they stay in the southern area of Lima (in the adjoining districts) where they can find movie theaters and other options that Villa el Salvador does not have yet.

As it is shown, my second group presents clear sociolinguistic characteristics that make it a group with a strong migrant background. Not only are the families of the participants mainly from the Andean region, but most of them are also Quechua-Spanish bilinguals. In addition, subjects are in permanent contact with other relatives, and with neighbors and friends from the same district, which lets us assume that they are constantly receiving input from Andean varieties of Spanish.

4.1.3 The bilingual group

The third group is different from the first two because of two main characteristics: speakers in the bilingual group live in Ayacucho (capital of the department in the southern Andes of Peru) and they are all Quechua-Spanish bilinguals. Almost one third of the population in the city of Ayacucho speaks Quechua as their native language. Thus, bilingual students in high schools of the city were relatively accessible. Students were selected from two high schools in the Jesús Nazareno neighborhood, an area very close to the city center: Villa San Cristóbal and Señor de los Milagros. Both are public high schools that share similar characteristics and are located at a distance of half a mile from each other. Students in both institutions live in the same neighborhood where the two schools are located.

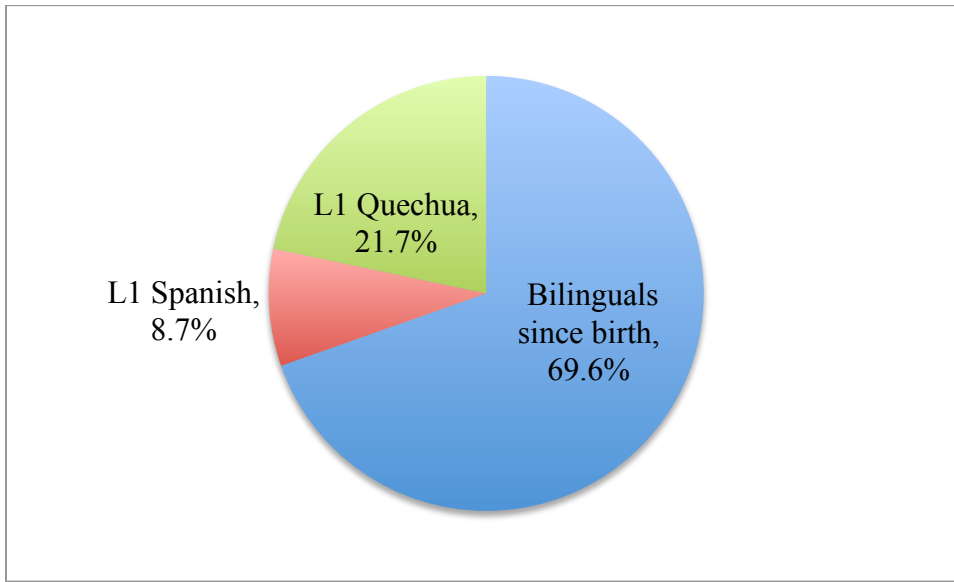
Students who attend these schools were born in the city of Ayacucho or moved there from other smaller towns in the same department (Ayacucho). In the latter case, in order to provide the students and their siblings with access to a better education, parents decided to send them to the city (i.e. they do not live with their parents, but with their siblings and/or other relatives). Table 17 shows the social characteristics of the participants in the bilingual group.

Table 17 Social characteristics of the bilingual group (n = 23)

Gender	Birthplace	Age average
Male = 9	Ayacucho department = 20	16.5
Female = 14	Other Andean regions = 3	(Range = 13-18)

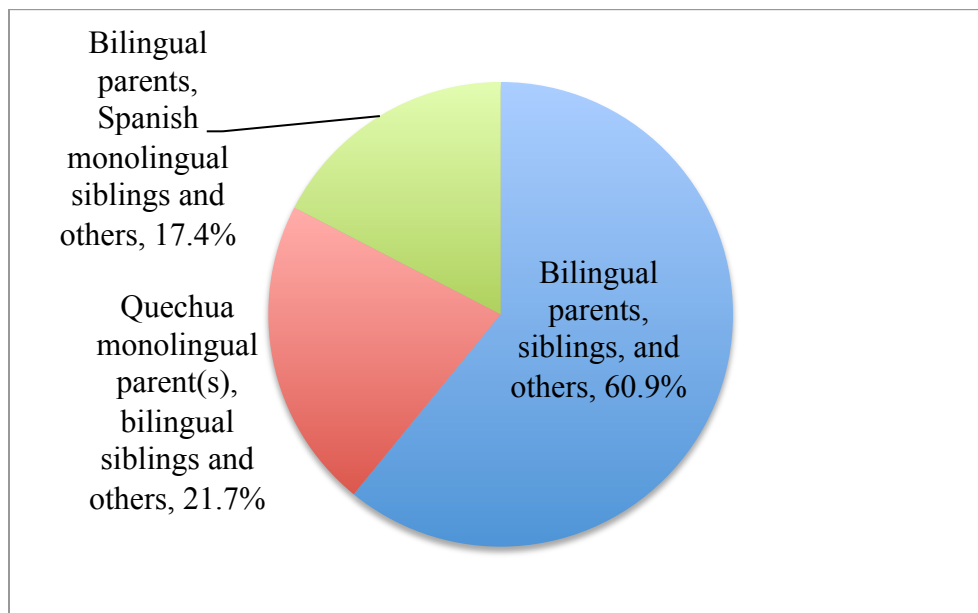
With regard to their bilingualism, in Figure 16, it is possible to see that most of them (69.6%) reported to having learned both languages at home, before going to school (bilinguals from birth or *native bilinguals*, A.M. Escobar 1990).

Figure 16 Native languages of the participants (Bilingual group)



The subgroup that reported Quechua as their native language (21.7%) said that they started learning Spanish around the age of schooling (6-8 years). The smallest group said that Spanish is their native language (8.7% or 2 participants) and that they began learning Quechua around the age of 5 or 6, probably suggesting that it took place when socializing at school. However, since both of them have bilingual families with whom they presently speak in both languages, it might be the case that these two subjects consider these ages as the time when they started speaking Quechua fluently. In any case, all students come from bilingual families where everybody (parents, siblings, and other relatives) speaks both languages. Although, there was at least one parent who is monolingual in Quechua in two cases, siblings and other relatives are still bilingual. Percentages regarding languages spoken in the families are presented in Figure 17.

Figure 17 Languages of the family (Bilingual group)



When asked in what contexts they speak each language, they answered that they mostly use Quechua with their parents; only some of them said with other relatives. For Spanish, on the other hand, one half of the group seems to use it primarily with siblings⁵¹ and other relatives whereas the other half uses it with everybody.

Most of the participants considered themselves native speakers of both languages (refer to Figure 16); however, as mentioned in the previous chapter, the Spanish varieties spoken in the Andean region have numerous features that emerged from contact with Quechua. Because of this situation, it was necessary to have an instrument that showed how they performed in a Spanish proficiency test, which evaluates the knowledge of various standard features. With this information, it is possible to see whether my bilingual participants are either more or less dominant in Spanish.

⁵¹ It is common that younger siblings are Spanish monolinguals. Figure 17 shows that 17.4% of cases are like this.

4.1.4 The Mexican group

Finally, the fourth group of the study is made up of nineteen native Spanish speakers from Mexico City, Mexico. All of them are high school students with an age range of 14-18 years. This last group is included in order to have a group from another region as the basis of comparison between Peruvian varieties of Spanish and a different dialect of Spanish, which should show that the variation in tense and mood in this fourth dialect is not as high as in the Peruvian dialects (according to the results found in Sessarego 2010).

Members of this control group are adolescents from Mexican families with low contact (if any) with speakers of other Spanish-speaking countries. They were also monolinguals in Spanish and were born and raised in Mexico City or its surrounding areas (not in other regions of the country). Also, they mainly carry out their everyday activities within the area where they live. Moreover, before they answered the production task, they were asked about their family backgrounds. Participants with families from areas with strong indigenous presence (thus, strong indigenous language presence) were not chosen to participate. Table 18 summarizes characteristics of the Mexican group.

Table 18 Social characteristics of the Mexican group (n = 19)

Gender	Male = 7 Female = 12	Age average	16.6 (Range = 13-18)
Birthplace	Mexico City ⁵² = 12 Surrounding areas ⁵³ = 7	Languages	Spanish monolinguals = 19

All participants in this fourth group reported that their parents were from Mexico City. In this sense, this group can be seen as having less migrant influence than the least migrant group from Lima, considering that even that Peruvian group included some individuals with migrant families and/or neighbors.

⁵² Mexico City here refers to the *Distrito Federal* (“Federal District”).

⁵³ All areas within the *Estado de México* (“State of Mexico”), which surrounds Mexico City

4.1.5 General conclusions regarding participant groups

In summary, the description of the social characteristics of each group lets us see the differences between them more clearly. When looking at the demographic data describing the place where each group lives, it is possible to find differences in terms of their sociolinguistic backgrounds. Those differences are confirmed by the demographic data of participants, e.g. place of origin and native language of families and neighbors is different when comparing the three Peruvian groups. Therefore, all these various characteristics (place of origin, family, neighbors, languages, activities, etc.) make up a specific description of each group that makes them different from each other.

The main social variable that distinguishes the groups, then, is a composite factor that takes into account the region where the participants live in, that, in turn, is intimately connected to the migrant status of their parents (for the case of Lima and Mexico City), and, more importantly, to the language background of the participants and their parents. In addition, answers to the social background questionnaire show that there are additional aspects that describe how the participants and the regions are characterized.

4.2 Linguistic Factors

There are two variation types that are the focus of the study: variation in tense and variation in mood. These two types are studied within very specific linguistic contexts; this study only focuses on past tense verbs in the main clause and it looks at nominal subordinate clauses that are used with specific verb types in the main clause.

Three linguistic factors were included in this study: (i) the type of verb in the main clause, (ii) the type of the event in the nominal clause, and (iii) the degree of knowledge of the speaker.

(52) Example with desire verb (*querer* “to want”)

Contexto: Rosa llega a su casa muy tarde en la noche y encuentra a su hermano viendo televisión. Pregunta por su mamá y se entera que ya está durmiendo.

Su hermano dice: “Está molesta contigo. A las 5 se fue a comprar las cosas para tu fiesta del sábado. Te estuvo esperando un buen rato, porque ella quería que tú...

(“Context: Rosa gets home really late at night and finds her brother watching TV. She asks where her mom is and her brother says the mother is already sleeping.

Rosa’s brother says: ‘She’s mad at you. She went to buy groceries at 5, for your party on Saturday. She was waiting for you for a while, because she wanted you to...’)

Answer:

- (ella quería que tú) estuvieras ahí para poder comprar las cosas
 be-2Sg.Past.Subj there to can buy the things
 “(she wanted you to) be there to buy groceries”

(53) Example with lack of knowledge verb (*ignorar* “to not know”)

Contexto: El señor Rodríguez está contando sus recuerdos de colegio a sus nietos. Les está hablando de Marco, uno de sus mejores amigos en la secundaria.

El señor Rodríguez dice: “Desde que salimos del colegio, no he sabido nada más de Marco. Él era bien buena gente pero a veces no quería contar nada sobre su familia y nunca supe mucho de ellos. Por ejemplo, yo ignoraba que él...

(“Context: Mr. Rodríguez is telling his school memories to his grandchildren. He is talking about Marco, one of his best friends in high school.

Mr. Rodríguez says: ‘Since we finished high school, I haven’t heard of Marco. He was a very nice person but sometimes didn’t want to talk about his family; I never knew much about them. For example, I didn’t know that he...’)

Answer:

- (yo ignoraba que él) se peleaba siempre con su papá
fight-3Sg.Past.Imp.Ind always with his dad

“(I didn’t know that he) was always fighting with his dad”

4.2.2 Event time

The second linguistic factor is the time in the subordinate clause event, i.e. whether the event is still possible in the present or whether it was only possible in the past. When an event is yet to take place or is still possible, the present subjunctive in the subordinate nominal clause is acceptable in standard Spanish because it expresses that this event (still possible in the present) is subsequent to the time of the communication. When the event has taken place already, then past subjunctive must be used in the standard variety, because the event (only possible in the past) is not subsequent to the time of the communication (Suñer and Padilla-Rivera 1987). The main clause always has a verb in the past, which can describe an event that is either possible or impossible in the present. But I focus on the verb in the subordinate clause, because this is the verb that can have two different grammatical tenses (past or present) in the varieties included in the study. Because it is possible to find two different situations with respect to the event time in the subordinate clause (events still possible in the present and events only possible in the past), this variable has two variants that are described following.

4.2.2.1 Past events

Events that are only possible in the past can appear with all three verb types. For instance, for factive-emotive verbs, in example (54), the trip to Trujillo was scheduled in the past (tickets were already bought), so the event of travelling is only possible in the past. In example (55), with desire verbs, Alicia has missed the chance of meeting the singer, since she knows this was the only opportunity for her; in the present, it is impossible to meet him.

(54) Example with *lamentar* (“to be sorry”)

Contexto: Toda la familia de Jorge se iba de viaje a Trujillo hace dos meses. Pero cuando solo faltaban unos días para el viaje, Jorge se dobló el pie jugando fútbol y tuvieron que ponerle un yeso. Hoy, su mamá conversa con su vecina.

La mamá de Jorge dice: “Ya estaban comprados los pasajes, las maletas estaban hechas, todo. Lamenté que él...”

(“Context: Jorge’s whole family was going to travel to Trujillo two months ago. But when there were only few days left to start the trip, Jorge broke his foot playing soccer and had it in a plaster cast. Today, his mother is talking with her neighbor.

Jorge’s mother says: ‘Tickets were already bought, luggage was already prepared, everything. I was sorry that he...’)

Answers:

- (Lamenté que él) se haya fracturado el pie
 fracture-3Sg.Pres Perf.Subj the foot
 “(I was sorry that he) has broken his foot”
- (Lamenté que él) se hubiera fracturado el pie
 fracture-3Sg.Pluperf.Subj the foot
 “(I was sorry that he) had broken his foot”

(55) Example with *querer* (“to want”)

Contexto: Alicia es fanática de un cantante muy famoso y una tienda de la ciudad de Alicia ha anunciado la presentación del cantante hoy. Cuando Alicia llega con su cuaderno y un lápiz a la tienda, le dicen que el cantante ya se fue.

Alicia dice: “No puede ser! Esta era la única oportunidad que tenía de verlo! Yo quería que él...”

(“Context: Alicia is a fan of a very famous singer and there’s a store in her town that has announced the singer’s presence there today. When Alicia gets there with her notebook and her pencil, she is told that the singer has already left.

Alicia says: ‘Oh no! This was the only opportunity for me to see him! I wanted him to...’)

Answer:

- (Yo quería que él) me diera un autógrafo
 1Sg.Dat give-3Sg.Past.Subj a autograph
 “(I wanted him to) give me an autograph”

(56) Example with *ignorar* (“to not know”)

Contexto: María y Juan han sido amigos desde niños. Ellos están hablando sobre los juegos que jugaban hace muchos años.

María se acuerda que ellos siempre jugaban en la casa de ella, pero nunca entraban a la casa de Juan. María dice: “Yo nunca fui a tu casa, no sabía qué juegos tenías allí!! Yo ignoraba que tú...

(“Context: María and Juan have been friends since they were kids. They are talking about the games that they used to play many years ago.

María remembers that they always used to play in her house, but never in his. She says: ‘I never went to your house, I didn’t know what games you had there! I didn’t know that you...’)

Answer:

- (yo ignoraba que tú) tuvieras un Nintendo
- have-2Sg.Past.Subj a Nintendo
- “(I didn’t know that you) had a Nintendo”

4.2.2.2 Present events

Events that are still possible in the present only appear with factive-emotive and desire verbs. In the case of a lack of knowledge verb, it would not be possible to have an event in the subordinate nominal clause that is subsequent to the time of the communication. In example (57), Víctor's friend is still working in the same place when he is talking about her with his other friend. In this case, the event of the friend still working there is still possible. Finally, in example (58), with lack of knowledge verbs, Carlos says "I didn't know that you were so insistent," meaning that in the present, Carlos already knows that the man is insistent.

(57) Example with *alegrarse* “to be happy”

Contexto: Víctor está contándole a un amigo sobre su encuentro con una amiga de la infancia. Víctor y su amiga se volvieron a ver después de muchos años y se contaron muchas historias.

Víctor dice: “Ella me contó que está trabajando mucho y le gusta mucho su trabajo. Por eso, me alegré de que ella..

(“Context: Víctor is telling a friend about his reunion with a childhood friend. Víctor and his friend saw each other again after many years and told each other many stories.

Victor says: She told me that she is working a lot and likes her job very much. Thus, I was happy that she...")

Answers:

- (Me alegré de que ella) esté contenta en su trabajo
be-3Sg.Pres.Subj happy in her job

“(I was happy that she) is happy in her job”

- (Me alegré de que ella) estuviera contenta en su trabajo
be-3Sg.Pres.Subj happy in her job

“(I was happy that she) was happy in her job”

(58) Example with *querer* (“to want”)

Contexto: Un tío de Luchito estuvo de visita hace unas horas y la familia entera se alegró porque el tío viene muy pocas veces al pueblo. El hermano de Luchito no estaba en casa cuando llegó el tío y no lo pudo ver. Ahora, Luchito le cuenta a su hermano sobre la visita.

Luchito dice: “El tío dejó un montón de cosas para nosotros, incluso una cámara de fotos. Él sabe que a ti te gustan muchas las cámaras, así que él quería que tú...

(“Context: Luchito’s uncle came to visit a few hours ago and the whole family was happy because this uncle does not visit them very often. Luchito’s brother wasn’t at

home on that moment and couldn't see his uncle. Now, Luchito is telling his brother about the uncle's visit.

Answers:

4.2.3 Degree of knowledge

In order to understand how the degree of knowledge factor was used in the study, it is necessary to see how indicative and subjunctive mood are produced with lack of knowledge verbs. As it was described in the Literature Review chapter, the choice of mood in the nominal clause depends on how the speaker makes his/her commitment to the truth of the clause (see Section 2.2). When the speaker selects the indicative mood, it is understood that he/she now has some information that he/she did not have in the past and it lets him/her make a commitment to the truth value of the event in the subordinate

clause. Thus, when information is given to the speaker, it is possible to expect indicative mood as the speaker's choice for the nominal clause. On the contrary, the speaker's choice of subjunctive refers to his/her doubts about the truth value of the event, i.e. the speaker does not want to express his/her commitment. This is related to how much detail regarding the information the speaker has about the event: if there is not enough information, he/she cannot consider that the event is true.

In the pilot study previous to the present investigation, participants were asked to complete the last sentence of stories in a written task. 39% of answers produced by a group of speakers from the Andean region were in indicative mood, which suggested a preference for this grammatical mood. However, a factor that considered the degree of knowledge that the speaker had was not included. When participants are given this type of information, they can choose to use either indicative or subjunctive, depending on what degree of knowledge participants consider that the main subject of the sentence has. In the pilot study, participants did not have any information about the degree of knowledge, so it was not possible to know why those speakers preferred to use indicative rather than subjunctive mood. Thus, the third linguistic factor included in this study is the speaker's degree of knowledge, which is also the information that the participants know. As I mentioned before, this type applies only to lack of knowledge verbs and has three variants: all information, little information, no information.

4.2.3.1 All information contexts

In these contexts, the degree of knowledge of the main subject is complete. In other words, the context presents very detailed information, which can be used or repeated by the participant when completing the sentence. After getting this information, the speaker can understand that he/she now has some information that he/she did not have in the past. Then, since the participant assumes the role of the main subject when completing the sentence, the participant himself/herself can understand that there is new information that he/she did not have in the past. For instance, in example (59), the story provided by the context ends with one of the things Ursula did not know about her friend (that she was afraid of doctors). Then, this is new information that the participant (taking

the role of the main subject) did not have in the past, but has now. According to Guitart's proposal (1990), indicative mood is preferred in these contexts. In the example, the prompt says "I didn't know that you...", which can lead the participants to rephrase or repeat the information of the friend's fear of doctors, as it is shown in the answer.

(59)

Contexto: Ursula conoció al primo de una de sus amigas hace unos días y hoy le está contando a ella lo que habló con el primo.

Ursula dice: "Él me contó muchas cosas de ti que yo no sabía. Por ejemplo, me dijo que te daba miedo ir al médico cuando eras niña. Yo ignoraba que tú..."

("Context: Ursula met one of her friend's cousins a few days ago and today she is telling her friend what she talked about with her cousin.

Ursula says: 'He told me many things about you that I didn't know. For example, he said that you were afraid of going to the doctor when you were a little girl. I didn't know that you...')

Answer:

- (Yo ignoraba que tú) tenías miedo por aquel doctor
- Have-2Sg.Past.Imp.Ind fear for that doctor
- “(I didn't know that you) were afraid of that doctor”

4.2.3.2 Little information contexts

In these contexts, the degree of knowledge of the main subject is partial. In other words, the context presents information about the event, but the participant could decide to add new information related to what he/she already knows when completing the sentence. It is possible that the speaker (assuming the role of the main subject) understands that he/she has new information that did not have in the past, which can lead him/her choose indicative mood in these contexts. In example (60), the participant is given the information that María had not been in Juan's house and she has no knowledge of what kind of games he used to play there. In their answers, participants do not

necessarily repeat what María already mentioned, but add something new, e.g. that Juan had many toys at home.

(60)

Contexto: María y Juan han sido amigos desde niños. Ellos están hablando sobre los juegos que jugaban hace muchos años.

María se acuerda que ellos siempre jugaban en la casa de ella, pero nunca entraban a la casa de Juan. María dice: “Yo nunca fui a tu casa, no sabía qué juegos tenías allí!! Yo ignoraba que tú...

(“Context: María and Juan have been friends since they were kids. They are talking about the games that they used to play many years ago.

María remembers that they always used to play in her house, but never in his. She says: ‘I never went to your house, I didn’t know what games you had there! I didn’t know that you...’)

Answer:

- (Yo ignoraba que tú) tenías muchos juguetes

have-2Sg.Past.Imp many toys

“(I didn’t know that you) had many toys”

4.2.3.3 No information contexts

In these contexts, the degree of knowledge of the main subject is minimum. In other words, the context emphasizes the fact that the main subject did not have any information at all. Then, since there is not much information that can be understood as new for the participant (who takes the role of the main subject), he/she will not necessarily choose indicative mood with these contexts. It is possible to find answers with subjunctive mood, which suggest that the event of the subordinate clause could be either true or false for the speaker. In example (61), the context repeats that the main subject does not know anything about the person whom he is talking to. Thus, participants are not given much information from the context and can add new information.

4.3.1 Production task in Spanish

This study used a production task (see Appendix B), more specifically, a sentence completion task with 44 items and 22 fillers. Of the 44 items, 16 sentences have a factive-emotive verb in the main clause, 16 have a desire verb, and 12 items have a lack of knowledge verb. Table 19 below summarizes all items included in the production task.

For the third verb type (lack of knowledge verbs), four items were included for each level of the degree of knowledge factor (all information, little information, no information). This was not the case for the two other verb types, because the degree of knowledge factor is only relevant with lack of knowledge verbs. For the other two types, eight items were included for each specific verb (e.g. eight for *querer* “to want” and eight for *desear* “to wish” within desire verbs); of those eight, four were past events and four were present events (according to the event time factor). As a result, there is a difference in the number of items of the three verb types because the number was decided according to how each verb type was matched with other linguistic factors.

Table 19 Items of the production task by factors

Verb type	Event time	Degree of knowledge	Items	Total
Factive-emotive (<i>alegrarse</i> “to be happy,” <i>lamentar</i> “to be sorry”)	Past events		8	16
	Present events		8	
Desire (<i>querer</i> “to want,” <i>desear</i> “to wish”)	Past events		8	16
	Present events		8	
Lack of knowledge (<i>ignorar</i> “to not know”)	Past events	All information	4	12
		Little information	4	
		No information	4	

Participants were given a short story as a context, where different characters were presented, as well as other relevant information. While each story was presented on a

laptop screen so that participants could read it, a recording of the same story was played at the same time to ensure that participants were understanding the context. Stories were recorded by two native speakers of Peruvian Spanish, both born and raised in Lima. Then, subjects completed each sentence orally. All answers were recorded. The story in example (62) is an item of the production task.

(62)

Contexto: Tomás regresa a su casa después del trabajo y encuentra un paquete de libros en la mesa del comedor. Su esposa le cuenta que un vecino los dejó allí en la tarde.

Su esposa dice: “Vino el señor Martínez y preguntó por ti, pensaba que tú ya habías regresado del trabajo. Te trajo esos libros, porque sabe que te gusta la filosofía. El quería que tú...”

(“Context: Tomás goes back home after work and finds a package of books on the dining room table. His wife tells him that one of their neighbors left the books there in the afternoon.

His wife says: ‘Mr. Martínez came to visit and asked for you, thinking you were already coming home from work. He brought you those books, because he knows you like philosophy. He wanted you to...’

Possible answers:

- (Él quería que tú) los leas / los leyeras / los leerías / los lees / etc.

(He wanted you to) read them (present subjunctive/past subjunctive/conditional /present indicative/etc.)

Stories were presented one by one as a slideshow; they followed a random order. In order to do this, I changed the order of the slides each day, which means that an average of only four participants was exposed to the same order. In addition to that, the task had to be answered in two different days by each participant: 33 stories per day, i.e. 22 items and 11 fillers. The reason to divide the task in two was that it was too long for students to answer in one single day. For each part, an average participant in Lima and Mexico City (in any of the three monolingual groups) took 20-25 minutes, whereas an

average participant in Ayacucho (in the bilingual group) took 30-35 minutes. In some cases, students complained about the length of the task, even though it was divided into two.

4.3.2 Production task in Quechua

Participants in the bilingual group were asked to answer the same task in both Spanish and Quechua, although the task was presented only in Spanish to the groups. This means that stories were not translated into Quechua. One reason to present the production task only in Spanish but ask subjects to give answers in the two languages (one after the other for each story) is related to the construction of subordinate clauses in Quechua. Whereas the prompt in Spanish gives the participant the first part of the sentence (subject of the main clause, verb of the main clause, and subject of the subordinate clause), it wouldn't be possible to give participants the same structure in Quechua, because the subject of the subordinate clause is part of the nominalized phrase constructed from the subordinate verb. When comparing examples (63) and (64), it is possible to see that the verb of the nominalized phrase (the subordinate verb) in Quechua is necessary in order to include the subject of the subordinate clause. On the other hand, not including the subject of the subordinate clause in order to avoid the problem would lead to a different problem: speakers could choose to use an infinitive verb assuming that the subject of the subordinate clause is co-referent with the subject of the main clause. For instance, if the prompt was *Ñuqa munarqani...* ("I wanted..."), a possible answer would be *...mikuyta* ("...to eat") and not *...mikunaykita* ("...you to eat").

- (63) Yo quería que tú...
I want-1Sg.Past.Imp.Ind that you
“I wanted you to...”

- (64) Ñuqa munarqani [...-na-yki-ta]
 I want-1Sg.Past [...-Nomin-2Sg-Acc]_{Subordinate clause}
 “I wanted you to...”

In order to get answers in both languages, one after the other for the same story, the production task was presented in a slightly different way: two pictures were inserted in each slide (see Appendix C), with each one presenting a person wearing headphones. Subjects were told that each person in the images was listening to the same stories that they were about to listen to. One person was listening to the story in Spanish and the other one, in Quechua. However, none of those characters were able to listen to the end of each story, so participants had to complete it for them, first in Spanish and then in Quechua (always in this order, and immediately one after the other). They were told that they needed to complete the stories using the same ideas for both languages. Then, if subjects express the same idea in Spanish and Quechua, I can compare what structures they use to express those ideas and whether there might be any possibility of transfer from Quechua (their native language) into Spanish (their second language).

In general, the objective of having participants producing the same idea in both languages worked. They used the same idea to complete the stories, but with the specific constructions of each language. However, it must be noticed that one participant used, in some stories, a different construction in Quechua: he began his subordinate sentences with the Spanish subordination conjunction *que* (“that”). Because of this, the subordinate sentences did not have a nominalizer (such as the previously mentioned *-na*), but an inflectional suffix of tense, such as *-rqa*, which expresses past tense. I wanted to find reasons for this difference in his sociolinguistic background, but he was not completely different from other participants, e.g. his mother is a Quechua monolingual speaker, he speaks Quechua with both parents, etc. Other social factors, such as his attitude towards Spanish, might play a role in his use of Quechua in the test.

4.3.3 Spanish proficiency test

The bilingual group answered a Spanish proficiency test adapted from a test from the *Diploma de Español como Lengua Extranjera* (DELE), Intermediate, May 2009 edition. The same test was previously used in Santos (2013). This test was administered to measure the bilinguals' level of Spanish as more dominant or less dominant. The proficiency test mainly measures characteristics of a standard variety of Spanish. Results of the test should divide my bilingual group into two subgroups: intermediate and advanced proficiency. These two possible levels of proficiency must be interpreted as more dominant (corresponding to advanced proficiency) and less dominant (corresponding to intermediate proficiency). The reason why I prefer to call those subgroups “more dominant” and “less dominant” is to acknowledge the fact that the speakers are highly proficient in Spanish: they are students in a public school, where all the instruction has been given in Spanish since the first grade, and most of them identified themselves as bilinguals since birth. Furthermore, all the interactions between participants and the researcher were carried out in Spanish. Thus, all speakers are considered advanced speakers of Spanish, but there are differences within the group in terms of how dominant they are in the standard variety of Spanish.

The proficiency test (see Appendix D) has two different cloze-tests, i.e. they had to fill in blanks that were part of a text. Multiple choice answers were provided for each question. In the first part, blanks were part of a three-paragraph text and represented only one word (or two when a compound verb was taken out). The second part presented isolated sentences with one blank that represented either one word or one phrase. The whole proficiency test has forty items that were rated as follows: 31-40 (advanced/more dominant), 21-30 (intermediate/less dominant), and 0-20 (low).

Results show that 17 out of 23 participants reached the highest level (more dominant), i.e. the largest group of speakers has near-native proficiency, as it was expected. On the other hand, 6 out of the 23 participants reached the less dominant level (two of them as low intermediate, with scores of 21 and 25, and four of them as high intermediate, with scores of 27 and 28). Speakers who answered that Spanish was their

second language were included in this last group. These results are considered when analyzing the results of the study.

4.3.4 Quechua evaluation rate

The native proficiency level in Quechua was tested by spontaneous conversation between them and a native speaker (see Appendix E for examples). She was a middle-aged interpreter, who has worked as a Quechua interpreter and teacher for decades. She is a native from the city of Ayacucho and has lived there for her whole life. After some informal conversation (between five and eight minutes), the rater gave a score to participants according to how fluent she thought they were in answering and understanding her. Rates were given on a scale from 1 to 5, which are presented below.

5 – Highest level

Speaker is completely fluent and has a perfect command of the language. Speaker understands everything he/she listens to and gives answers naturally and fast. He/she is able to keep a whole conversation without any problems.

4 – High-intermediate level

Speaker is fluent and has very good command of the language. Speaker understands everything he/she listens to but doesn't give answers very naturally and fast. It could also be that he/she understands most of what he/she listens to (not everything) but answers naturally and fast. He/she is able to keep a whole conversation but with minor difficulties.

3 – Intermediate level

Speaker is not very fluent and his/her command of the language is partial. Speaker understands just one part of what he/she listens to and gives short answers or gives them not very fast. He/she is able to keep only a short conversation because of his/her difficulties in going on.

2 – Low-intermediate level

Speaker is not fluent and has little command of the language. Speaker understands little of what he/she listens to and is not able to give answers. It could also be that he/she doesn't understand what he/she listens to but is able to say a few phrases. He/she is not able to keep a short conversation.

1 – Lowest level

Speaker's command of language is nonexistent. Speaker understands almost nothing of what he/she listens to and is not able to give answers. He/she may answer using single words, may know only a few words or phrases. He/she is not able to keep any conversation.

Since most of the individuals in the bilingual group (16 out of 23) stated that they consider themselves to be native speakers of both languages, I expected their proficiency in Quechua to be at the highest level (5). The mean rate within the group was 4.87 (range 3-5, only one rated with 3). Based on this mean, it is possible to confirm that subjects in this group are highly fluent in Quechua and have a perfect command of it, as native speakers do.

4.3.5 Acceptability judgment task

A subgroup of the three groups of Peruvian Spanish answered an acceptability judgment task (see Appendix F). The main objective of the study was to see how participants use variation in both tense and mood in subordinate clauses, but I wanted to confirm that they accepted variation as they produce it. However, since it is not the main goal of the study, only a subgroup of three participants per group answered it.

This task was introduced in order to control for the possibility that the production task might not have all the answers that I expected in terms of tense and mood, even though participants were given the first part of the sentence (including the verb of the main clause), and were free to choose any kind of construction that they considered relevant for completing the sentence. Therefore, results of this secondary task are used in

case the results from the production task were not clear or did not help us confirm (or reject) my hypotheses.

In this second task, subjects judged the acceptability of answers characterized by specific variants of each one of the three linguistic factors considered above. They read the stories of the production task again, but with the last sentence completed (answered). Each final sentence was underlined, so participants were asked to rate it in a scale of 1 to 5, where 1 is non-acceptable and 5 is completely acceptable. Their judgments had to be made based on the context of each story.

There are 88 items and 44 fillers. The 88 items are divided based on the three linguistic factors, which means there are 32 sentences with a factive-emotive verb in the main clause (in both the present and past subjunctive), 32 with a desire verb (in both the present and past subjunctive), and 24 with a lack of knowledge verb (in both the present and past subjunctive). Thus, the answer type (present or past subjunctive) was a linguistic factor of this task too. Answers in other grammatical moods were not included in order to get a feasible task for participants, since a third type of answer would have added a larger number of items.

4.4 Data collection and coding

Selection of participants was started once schools gave permission to work in their facilities. However, in the case of the Mexican group, the selection was carried out through relatives and friends. For Peruvian groups, students of the last grades of high school were told about the study in their own classrooms, and appointments were scheduled with those who volunteered in after school hours or in school hours when teachers agreed. Also, they were given a consent form for their parents (see Appendix G),⁵⁵ which had to be returned on the day of the first appointment (each participant had two appointments scheduled, since the production task was divided into two). In general, the sociolinguistic background questionnaire was administered in the first session.

⁵⁵ Consent forms for both parents and students approved by IRB protocol number 10259

Students in the subgroups that answered the acceptability judgment task had an extra meeting with the researcher after they finished answering the production task. Regarding the bilingual group, the Quechua evaluation and the Spanish proficiency tests were administered together with one of the parts of the production task, i.e. one of those additional tests (the Quechua evaluation or the Spanish proficiency test) with one of the production task parts.

With respect to data coding, since many distinct answers can be found for the production task, answers are coded depending on the tense and mood of the subordinate verb participants produced. The linguistic factors considered in the study are included in the analysis, as it is explained in the next section.

Each answer in the production task is coded as either subjunctive or non-subjunctive, with subjunctive furthermore divided into past and present. Past subjunctive answers include simple past,⁵⁶ present perfect,⁵⁷ and pluperfect⁵⁸ subjunctive. Within the non-subjunctive forms, it is possible to find two different grammatical moods: indicative and conditional. This study aims to find how variation in tense with subjunctive clauses is present in Peruvian Spanish (in other words, how the Concordantia Temporum principle⁵⁹ is not followed in these varieties); for this reason, I only focus on the difference between present and past in subjunctive forms and not in indicative forms.

Other answers that do not match any of the tenses or moods mentioned are ruled out of the corpus. For instance, if participants did not notice or ignored the subordination conjunction from the prompt *que* (“that”), it is possible to find an infinitive form as their answer, because they assumed that both the main and the subordinate subjects are co-

⁵⁶ *Pretérito imperfecto de subjuntivo* or *pretérito de subjuntivo* in Spanish grammars (RAE 2012)

⁵⁷ *Pretérito perfecto de subjuntivo* in Spanish grammars (RAE 2012)

⁵⁸ *Pretérito pluscuamperfecto de subjuntivo* in Spanish grammars (RAE 2012)

⁵⁹ As the phenomenon is mentioned by Sessarego (2008, 2010), and Suñer and Padilla-Rivera (1987)

referent without the conjunction, as in example (65). Cases like this were found in all Peruvian groups.

- (65) El_i quería ø_i leer.
“He wanted to read”

Finally, participants who did not follow instructions correctly are ruled out of the sample. For example, if participants continue the story but do not complete the last sentence (that has the subordination conjunction), they are not considered part of the group and their answers are not included in the corpus. These were only five participants.

4.5 Analyses of results

Results were statistically analyzed considering the following variables (corresponding to the social and linguistic factors):

- one between-subjects factor (the region and/or sociolinguistic background that speakers have), with four levels (each level refers to one group)
- three within-subject factors: the verb type in the main clause (three levels, one per type of verb), the event time of the subordinate clause (two levels, depending on the time of the event) – only used with factive-emotive and desire verbs, and the degree of knowledge of the speaker (three levels, depending on how much information the speaker has) – only used with lack of knowledge verbs

Regarding the dependent variable, the production task focuses on past subjunctive, present subjunctive, and non-subjunctive. In cases where percentages for non-subjunctive answers show that these answers are the preferred ones, non-subjunctive forms (indicative and conditional mood) are considered as dependent variables too.

Three distinct statistical analyses were run. A 2x2x4 mixed ANOVA (two levels of verb type, two levels of event time, and four levels of group) analyzes how two of the three linguistic factors (verb type and event time) interact with the social factor (the group of the participants). In this first test, the verb type only has two levels, one for

factive-emotive verbs and one for desire verbs; lack of knowledge verbs is not considered because they are not used with the two event times of the second linguistic factor (they are only used with past events, not with present events). The third factor, information amount, is analyzed with a separate test, a 3x4 repeated-measures ANOVA (three levels of the degree of knowledge and four levels of group). In addition to these two tests, another 3x4 repeated-measures ANOVA (three levels of verb type and four levels of group) is used to analyze the effect and interaction of verb type and the group of participants, but this time including lack of knowledge verbs (all verb types with past events only). In the cases where significant effects are found, new tests that focus on the relevant factors are run.

CHAPTER 5

RESULTS

In this chapter, results are presented according to the tasks that were administered to participants. First, I focus on the results of the main task of the study – the production task in Spanish, which was completed by all four groups. Then, results for the acceptability judgment task are presented in the second section. Finally, the third section focuses on results from the production task in Quechua, which was answered by the bilingual group of the study.

5.1 Production task in Spanish

Results are presented by linguistic factor and, for each factor, percentages for each group are included. For all factors, the target form that was mainly analyzed was past subjunctive (because its presence or absence is related to the level of variation that each group produced). Past subjunctive answers include simple past,⁶⁰ present perfect,⁶¹ and pluperfect⁶² subjunctive, following Suñer and Padilla-Rivera (1987).

Nevertheless, other types of answers are considered as well, due to their high percentages for certain factors and groups. In other words, past subjunctive and/or subjunctive answers do not represent the total amount of answers (100%) produced by participants of all groups. This type of answers was not the only one produced, in particular when focusing on speakers in the Peruvian Spanish groups. Tables 20 and 21 show that other types of answers—such as present subjunctive, indicative mood, and conditional mood—were produced as well.

⁶⁰ *Pretérito imperfecto de subjuntivo* or *pretérito de subjuntivo* in Spanish grammars (RAE 2012)

⁶¹ *Pretérito perfecto de subjuntivo* in Spanish grammars (Ibid.)

⁶² *Pretérito pluscuamperfecto de subjuntivo* in Spanish grammars (Ibid.)

Table 20 Types of answers

Past subjunctive	Present subjunctive	Indicative mood	Conditional mood	Answers not classified ⁶³
64.52%	12.39%	18.76%	2.79%	1.54%

Table 21 Number of answers by group

	Past subjunctive	Present subjunctive	Indicative mood	Conditional mood
Bilingual group (1012 answers)	437 (43.18%)	141 (13.93%)	333 (32.91%)	76 (7.51%)
Most migrant group (1188 answers)	821 (69.11%)	180 (15.15%)	165 (13.89%)	9 (0.76%)
Least migrant group (1056 answers)	669 (63.35%)	181 (17.14%)	153 (14.49%)	27 (2.56%)
Mexican group (836 answers)	689 (82.42%)	28 (3.35%)	115 (13.76%)	3 (0.36%)

5.1.1 Verb type

5.1.1.1 Past subjunctive answers

When comparing the three verb types, only past events were taken into account; that is, of the two possible event types considered in the task, events that were only possible in the past were included in contexts with any of the three verb types. On the contrary, present events were included in contexts with only two of the three verb types.

⁶³ These answers are not classified as any of the verbal forms because they were ungrammatical. These are the cases where the participant didn't complete the sentence with a verb, but with a noun or a different grammatical category.

For that reason, comparisons for all three verb types needed to be within contexts of past events.

Percentages of past subjunctive answers for each of the three verb types and for each group are presented in Table 22. In general, looking at the means, the table shows that none of the three verb types were answered 100% in past subjunctive, i.e. all of them had other types of answers. Of the three types, lack of knowledge verbs had most of the answers that are not past subjunctive forms.

Table 22 Results for verb type (answers in past subjunctive)⁶⁴

	Factive-emotive	Desire	Lack of knowledge	Mean
Bilingual	41.85% (<i>SD</i> = 31.67)	58.70% (<i>SD</i> = 30.49)	26.45% (<i>SD</i> = 25.70)	42.33%
Most migrant Lima	81.02% (<i>SD</i> = 14.86)	80.09% (<i>SD</i> = 18.10)	49.07% (<i>SD</i> = 23.83)	70.06%
Least migrant Lima	64.58% (<i>SD</i> = 24.08)	78.65% (<i>SD</i> = 19.32)	46.08% (<i>SD</i> = 29.49)	63.10%
Mexican	93.42% (<i>SD</i> = 9.65)	98.68% (<i>SD</i> = 3.94)	56.14% (<i>SD</i> = 35.99)	82.75%
Mean	70.22%	79.03%	44.44%	

When focusing on percentages within each group, the tendency of lower percentages for lack of knowledge verbs is present in every group. Of the four groups, the bilingual group had the lowest percentages with this verb type (26.45%). This same group had the lowest percentages with the other two types as well: 41.85% with factive-emotive and 58.70% with desire verbs.

On the other hand, when comparing the four groups, the highest percentages for past subjunctive answers are found in the Mexican group: 93.42%, 98.68%, and 56.14%

⁶⁴ Only with past events

for factive-emotive, desire, and lack of knowledge verbs, respectively. Following this group, the most migrant group in Lima had higher percentages than the least migrants in Lima.

For the statistical analysis, a two-way repeated-measures ANOVA was run on percentages of the three verb types and the four groups. Results showed that verb type had a significant effect on past subjunctive answers, $F(1,23) = 32.39$, $p < .05$: desire verbs had the highest percentages, whereas lack of knowledge verbs had the lowest ones. It is possible to understand why these two types were located on two opposite extremes, since lack of knowledge verbs can also have subordinate clauses with other verbal forms, such as indicative mood. Moreover, factive-emotive verbs can accept indicative as well, whereas desire verbs cannot.

Bonferroni pairwise comparisons showed that there was a significant difference between all verb types: factive-emotive and desire verbs, desire and lack of knowledge verbs, and factive-emotive and lack of knowledge verbs ($p < .05$). Again, the fact that both lack of knowledge and factive-emotive verbs accept subordinate clauses with verbs in a different grammatical mood may be an important reason to explain these significant differences. Of those two verb types, it is possible that lack of knowledge verbs had lower percentages of past subjunctive if speakers wanted to express their commitment to the truth of the clause and, therefore, chose indicative rather than subjunctive mood.

The group variable also had a significant effect, $F(1,89) = 1314.61$, $p < .05$, but there was no interaction between group and verb type. However, pairwise comparisons between groups showed that there was a significant difference between the least migrant group in Lima and the Mexican group, and between the bilingual group and each one of the other groups ($p < .05$). This means that the bilinguals differed from the other groups in their production of past subjunctive (the standard form) to complete subordinate clauses. With respect to the least migrant group and the Mexican one, the significant difference represents the fact that variation in Peruvian dialects is much more frequent than in other Latin American varieties. However, there were no significant differences between the

most migrant and the Mexican group, which is an unexpected finding. Based on their percentages, this could mean that the most migrant group is more likely to produce more standard forms than the other Peruvian groups.

5.1.1.2 Present subjunctive answers

Table 23 shows answers in present subjunctive for each verb type and each group. Again, I am considering only past events with these verb types because lack of knowledge verbs were used only with this type of events (and not with present events). With respect to verb types, desire verbs had the highest percentages in general (14.68%) and also within the three Peruvian groups. This confirms that overall, subjunctive was the preferred mood with desire verbs (79.03% with past tense plus 14.68% with present tense), which was expected according to standard Spanish rules. Additionally, factive-emotive verbs were higher within the Mexican group. Nevertheless, in this last group, percentages were very low for present subjunctive answers (1.97% with factive-emotive and 0.66% with desire verbs); moreover, there were no answers produced with lack of knowledge verbs (0%). In general, this last verb type had the lowest percentage in all the groups (mean of 5.49%).

Table 23 Results for verb type (answers in present subjunctive)

	Factive-emotive	Desire	Lack of knowledge	Mean
Bilingual	10.33% (<i>SD</i> = 15.38)	21.20% (<i>SD</i> = 23.97)	6.16% (<i>SD</i> = 10.12)	12.56%
Most migrant Lima	9.26% (<i>SD</i> = 11.28)	17.59% (<i>SD</i> = 17.77)	7.10% (<i>SD</i> = 10.26)	11.32%
Least migrant Lima	17.19% (<i>SD</i> = 18.73)	19.27% (<i>SD</i> = 17.67)	8.68% (<i>SD</i> = 19.11)	15.05%
Mexican	1.97% (<i>SD</i> = 4.68)	0.66% (<i>SD</i> = 2.87)	0%	0.88%
Mean	9.69%	14.68%	5.49%	

A repeated-measures ANOVA showed that there was a significant effect of verb type, $F(2,178) = 17.072$, $p < .05$, where more present subjunctive answers were produced with desire verbs rather than with the other two types. Bonferroni pairwise comparisons show that the three verb types were significantly different from one another ($p < .05$). These differences could be related to how strong the preference of participants is for subjunctive with each one of these verb types. It is possible that, with factive-emotive and lack of knowledge verbs, they preferred other grammatical moods and not subjunctive (neither past nor present).

There was also a significant effect of group,⁶⁵ $F(3,89) = 5.508$, $p < .05$, where the Mexican group produced the lowest percentages of present subjunctive answers. Bonferroni pairwise comparisons showed that this group was significantly different from each one of the other three groups ($p < .05$). In this case, it is possible to see that variation in tense is more frequent in Peruvian varieties than in the Mexican one, as was expected. Nonetheless, with this analysis, it cannot be determined that the bilingual group produced more answers in present subjunctive than the other Peruvian groups, which was suggested as a possible reinforcement of the contact between Spanish and Quechua.

5.1.1.3 Indicative mood answers

Answers in subjunctive mood (either past or present) were not 100% of answers given by any group or for any verb type (see Table 22). It has already been suggested that, in some cases, participants preferred to produce other grammatical moods in the production task. Regarding indicative mood answers, we can see in Table 24 that the mean for lack of knowledge verbs is almost half of the answers (46.02%), whereas average percentages for the other two types were much lower (16.53% for factive-emotive and 2.59% for desire verbs).

⁶⁵ However, there was no significant interaction between type of verb and group.

Table 24 Results for verb type (answers in indicative mood)

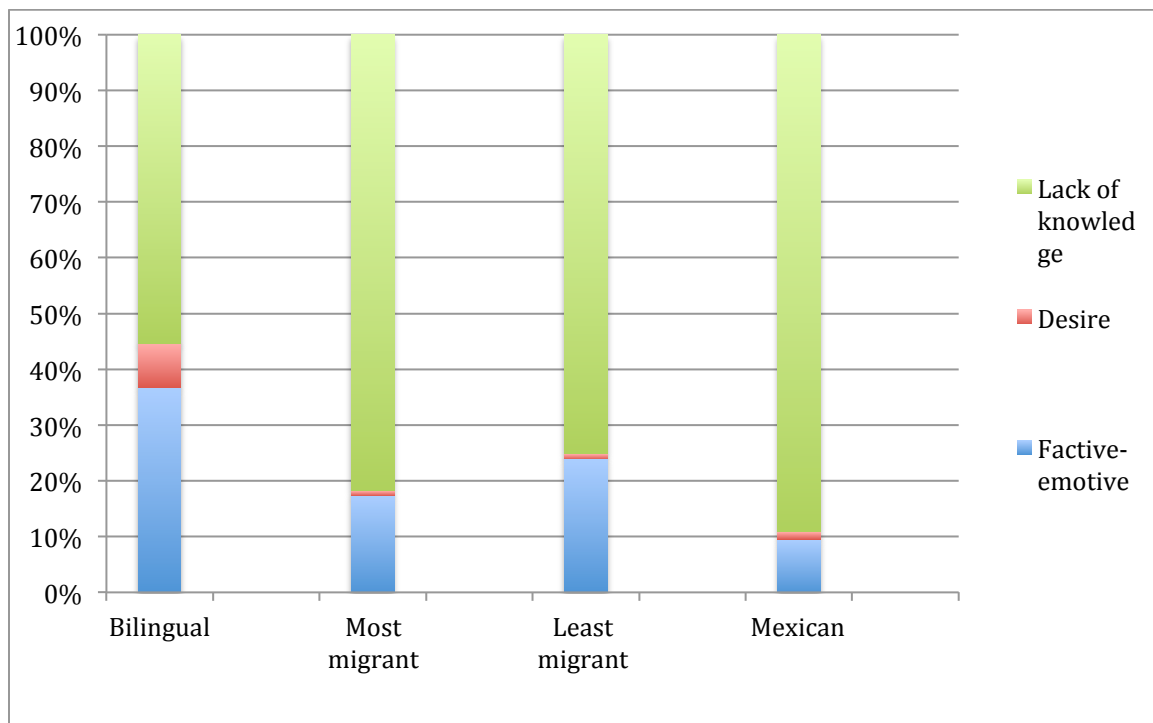
	Factive-emotive	Desire	Lack of knowledge	Mean
Bilingual	40.22% (<i>SD</i> = 34.33)	8.70% (<i>SD</i> = 20.45)	60.50% (<i>SD</i> = 33.73)	36.47%
Most migrant Lima	8.80% (<i>SD</i> = 10.29)	0.46% (<i>SD</i> = 2.41)	41.36% (<i>SD</i> = 28.35)	16.87%
Least migrant Lima	12.50% (<i>SD</i> = 13.79)	0.52% (<i>SD</i> = 2.55)	39.23% (<i>SD</i> = 29.43)	17.42%
Mexican	4.61% (<i>SD</i> = 7.47)	0.66% (<i>SD</i> = 2.87)	42.98% (<i>SD</i> = 35.38)	16.08%
Mean	16.53%	2.59%	46.02%	

The repeated-measures ANOVA showed a significant effect of verb type with answers in indicative mood, $F(2,178) = 112.973$, $p < .05$. Based on Bonferroni pairwise comparisons, each verb type was significantly different from the other two ($p < .05$), with more indicative answers for lack of knowledge verbs. There is a great difference between this type and the other two based on their means: 46.02% for lack of knowledge, 16.53% for factive-emotive, and 2.59% for desire verbs. One possible reason is how the degree of knowledge factor must have interacted with lack of knowledge verbs (as described in the Literature Review chapter, indicative is the preferred mood if speakers want to express their commitment to the truth value of the event).

On the other hand, it is noteworthy that the bilingual group had much higher percentages of indicative answers than the other three groups for all three verb types. The repeated-measures ANOVA showed that there was a significant effect of group and a significant interaction between verb type and group, meaning that, within the bilingual group, more answers in indicative mood were produced with lack of knowledge verbs. Figure 18 summarizes percentages of answers in indicative with each verb type and for each group: of the total amount of answers in indicative mood, most of them were produced with lack of knowledge verbs regardless of the group. However, one can also

confirm that the bilingual group performed differently from the other groups, even with desire verbs. Moreover, Bonferroni pairwise comparisons confirmed that the bilingual group was significantly different from each one of the other groups ($p < .05$). Thus, I can confirm that the bilinguals produced the highest amount of indicative answers, particularly with lack of knowledge verbs, compared to the rest of the groups. This must be related to the degree of knowledge factor, which will be described in the last research question.

Figure 18 Percentages for verb type and group (answers in indicative mood)



5.1.1.4 Conditional mood answers

Finally, looking at answers in conditional mood, Table 25 shows that there were more answers produced for desire verbs (mean of 2.94%), although differences are small (mean of 2.13% for factive-emotive and 1.86% for lack of knowledge verbs).

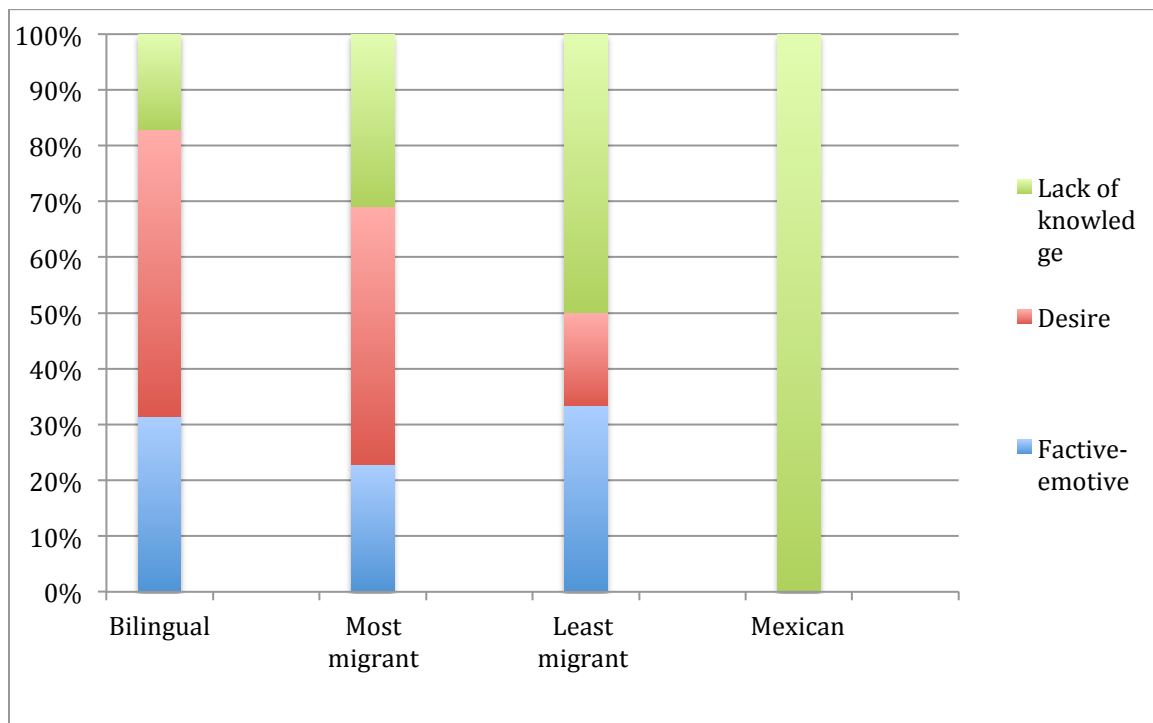
Table 25 Results for verb type (answers in conditional mood)

	Factive-emotive	Desire	Lack of knowledge	Mean
Bilingual	5.98% (<i>SD</i> = 12.43)	9.78% (<i>SD</i> = 20.97)	3.26% (<i>SD</i> = 10.88)	6.34%
Most migrant Lima	0.46% (<i>SD</i> = 2.41)	0.93% (<i>SD</i> = 3.34)	0.62% (<i>SD</i> = 2.22)	0.67%
Least migrant Lima	2.08% (<i>SD</i> = 6.02)	1.04% (<i>SD</i> = 5.10)	3.12% (<i>SD</i> = 11.99)	2.08%
Mexican	0%	0%	0.44% (<i>SD</i> = 1.91)	0.15%
Mean	2.13%	2.94%	1.86%	

Nevertheless, no main effect of verb type was found in the repeated-measures ANOVA run for these data. Yet, there was a significant effect of group and a significant interaction between degree of knowledge and group. Bonferroni pairwise comparisons showed that there were significant differences between the bilingual group and two other groups: the most migrant group in Lima and the Mexican group. This makes us focus on the bilingual group (because it has the highest amount of conditional mood answers for the three verb types). Within this group, one can see that desire verbs have the highest percentages and lack of knowledge verbs, the lowest ones.

The interaction between verb type and group can be understood by taking in consideration percentages in Figure 19. Of all the answers in conditional mood, only the Peruvian groups produced this grammatical mood with the three verb types of the study. The Mexican group preferred conditional mainly with lack of knowledge verbs rather than with others. On the contrary, the bilinguals had the highest amount of conditional mood answers for the three verb types. Also, within this group, desire verbs have the highest percentages, followed by factive-emotive verbs, whereas lack of knowledge verbs have the lowest ones.

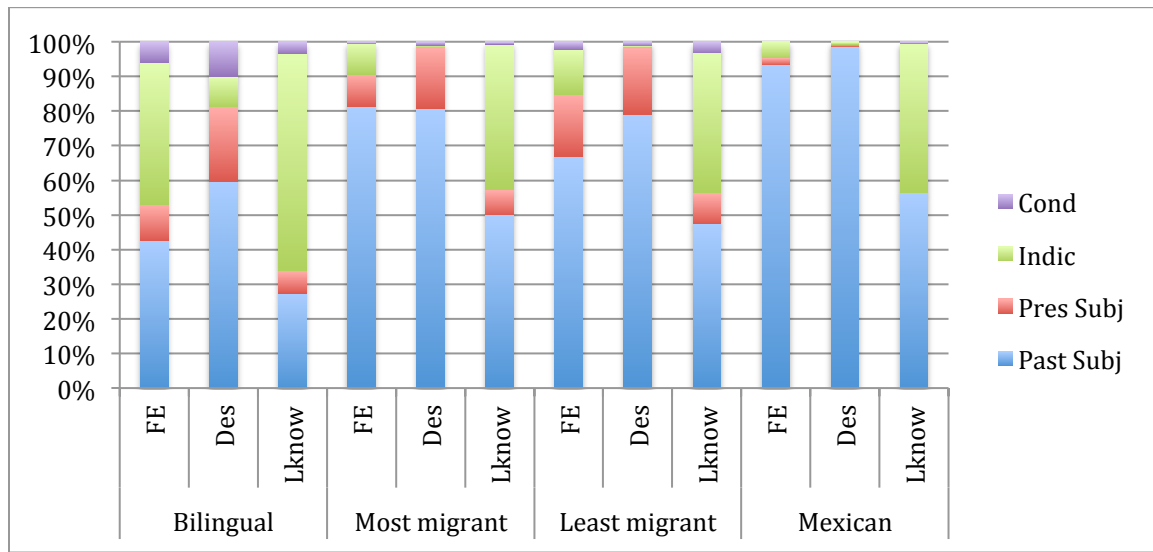
Figure 19 Percentages for verb type and group (answers in conditional mood)



As a general summary, Figure 20 compares the four types of answers presented above. It can be highlighted that while past subjunctive was the preferred answer for all verb types and almost all groups, other types of answers were also produced, especially indicative mood. There were higher percentages of past subjunctive with desire than with factive-emotive verbs, which confirms Suñer and Padilla-Rivera's classification of verb types. However, this classification is not confirmed by lack of knowledge verbs, the strictest type in that proposal, which did not have the highest percentages of past subjunctive.

It is also noticeable that the bilingual and the Mexican groups produced opposite results in the sense that the former produced the least percentages of the standard form (past subjunctive) and the latter, the highest ones. In addition to that, chi-square tests were run for the verb type factor and results showed that there were significant associations between groups and each type of answers produced by them.

Figure 20 Summary of results for verb type



5.1.2 Event time

5.1.2.1 Past subjunctive answers

Table 26 presents percentages for past subjunctive answers with both event times (past and present). Percentages are presented according to event time and verb type, and the means for each event time. For past events, where past subjunctive is expected, percentages are higher – meaning that participants preferred to use past subjunctive forms when the events in the nominal clause were only possible in the past (means of 74.63% with past events and 69.32% with present events).

We ran a 2x2x4 mixed ANOVA (including verb type,⁶⁶ event time, and group) to measure if there was any significant effect from these factors. There was a significant effect of event time, $F(1,89) = 10.721$, $p < .05$, of verb type, $F(1,89) = 34.302$, $p < .05$, and by group, $F(3,89) = 24.034$, $p < .05$. Nevertheless, there was no significant interaction between event time and group. With regard to event time, the significant difference between past and present events shows that past subjunctive was higher with past events. It is possible that present events had lower percentages due to the fact that these events could still possibly happen in the present or future (see Table 26).

⁶⁶ Only factive-emotive and desire verbs, which were used with both event times (lack of knowledge verbs were only used with past events)

Table 26 Results for verb type and event time (answers in past subjunctive)

	Factive- emotive/ Present Events	Desire/ Present Events	Present Events (Mean)	Factive- emotive/ Past Events	Desire/ Past Events	Past Events (Mean)
Bilingual	37.50% (<i>SD</i> = 26.38)	59.78% (<i>SD</i> = 26.64)	48.64%	41.85% (<i>SD</i> = 31.67)	58.70% (<i>SD</i> = 30.49)	50.28%
Most migrant Lima	71.76% (<i>SD</i> = 22.36)	73.61% (<i>SD</i> = 19.09)	72.69%	81.02% (<i>SD</i> = 14.86)	80.09% (<i>SD</i> = 18.10)	80.56%
Least migrant Lima	61.98% (<i>SD</i> = 20.01)	72.92% (<i>SD</i> = 17.93)	67.45%	64.58% (<i>SD</i> = 24.08)	78.65% (<i>SD</i> = 19.32)	71.62%
Mexican	79.61% (<i>SD</i> = 22.52)	97.37% (<i>SD</i> = 8.92)	88.49%	93.42% (<i>SD</i> = 9.65)	98.68% (<i>SD</i> = 3.94)	96.05%
Mean	62.71%	75.92%	69.32%	70.22%	79.03%	74.63%

Taking a look at the differences between groups, the Mexican group produced more past subjunctive answers than any other group, with both past (96.05%) and present events (88.49%). On the contrary, the lowest percentages belong to the bilingual group, again with both event times (50.28% and 48.64% for past and present, respectively).

In order to see whether these differences between groups were significant, I ran a one-way ANOVA for each event time. For both past and present events, there was a main effect of the group variable, $F(3,92) = 22.352$, $p < .05$ (past events) and $F(3,92) = 17.359$, $p < .05$ (present events). Bonferroni pairwise comparisons showed that, in those two event times, both the bilingual and the Mexican group were significantly different from each of the other three groups ($p > .05$). Given these results, I can confirm that the Mexican group

follows the standard norm where past subjunctive is used even with present events because the main verb is in the past. On the contrary, bilinguals did not show a preference for past subjunctive with either past or present events, meaning that there were other types of answers (i.e. forms that are not considered standard Spanish) produced by this group.

5.1.2.2 Present subjunctive answers

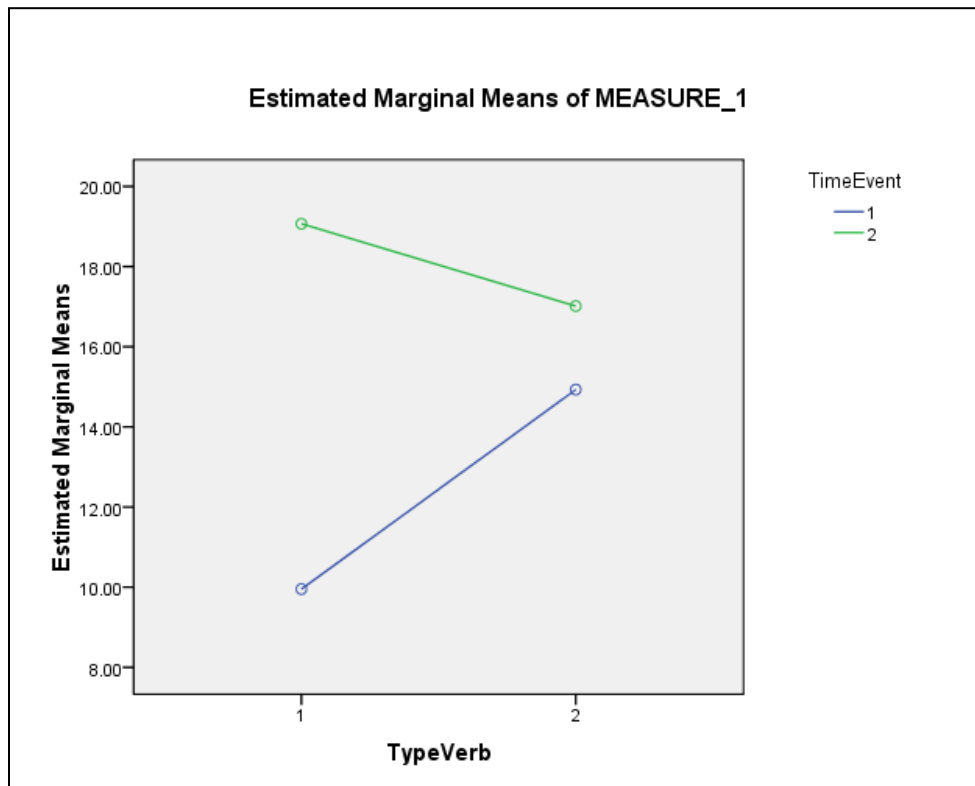
Percentages in Table 27 show that present subjunctive was preferred with present events (mean of 18.04%) rather than with past events (mean of 12.44%) overall, but this is also true for each group. However, the Mexican group did not produce it as frequently as the other three; participants in that group chose it only 7.90% of times with present events and 1.32% of times with past events. With respect to Peruvian groups, the highest percentages are found in the most migrant group in Lima for present events (23.15%) and in the least migrant group in Lima for past events (18.49%).

Table 27 Results for verb type and event time (answers in present subjunctive)

	Factive- emotive/ Present Events	Desire/ Present Events	Present Events (Mean)	Factive- emotive/ Past Events	Desire/ Past Events	Past Events (Mean)
Bilingual	19.02% (<i>SD</i> = 24.39)	17.39% (<i>SD</i> = 24.06)	18.21%	10.87% (<i>SD</i> = 17.40)	21.74% (<i>SD</i> = 25.06)	16.31%
Most migrant Lima	22.22% (<i>SD</i> = 19.71)	24.07% (<i>SD</i> = 19.28)	23.15%	9.26% (<i>SD</i> = 11.28)	18.06% (<i>SD</i> = 19.09)	13.66%
Least migrant Lima	21.88% (<i>SD</i> = 19.59)	23.96% (<i>SD</i> = 17.65)	22.92%	17.71% (<i>SD</i> = 20.16)	19.27% (<i>SD</i> = 17.67)	18.49%
Mexican	13.16% (<i>SD</i> = 19.31)	2.63% (<i>SD</i> = 8.92)	7.90%	1.97% (<i>SD</i> = 4.68)	0.66% (<i>SD</i> = 2.87)	1.32%
Mean	19.07%	17.01%	18.04%	9.95%	14.93%	12.44%

The 2x2x4 mixed ANOVA showed that in general, there was a significant effect of event time, $F(1,89) = 15.587$, $p < .05$, which means that there were significant differences between present and past events. Moreover, there was a significant interaction between verb type and group, $F(3,89) = 2.784$, $p < .05$, and between verb type and event time, $F(1,89) = 11.150$, $p < .05$. This last result must be related to the fact that percentages of present subjunctive for past events are lower than for present events, except for the bilingual group in the context of past events with desire verbs (21.74%). In Figure 21, it is possible to see that the interaction is due to the larger difference in percentages between past (blue line) and present events (green line) when they are mixed with factive-emotive verbs (left side); with desire verbs (right side), on the contrary, the difference is smaller.

Figure 21 Interaction between verb type and event time (answers in present subjunctive)



The 2x2x4 mixed ANOVA also showed that there was a significant effect of group, $F(3,89) = 4.911$, $p < .05$. Bonferroni pairwise comparisons showed that the Mexican group was significantly different from all other groups ($p < .05$). Therefore, I can confirm that this non-standard form (present subjunctive) was not preferred by this group, which was expected to be different from the other three in terms of following the standard variety.

Thus, it is true that variation in tense is present in the Peruvian groups regardless of the event time, but since there was a significant difference between the two event times, specific analyses within each group are needed to say that, for Peruvian Spanish varieties, variation in tense is similar in both present and past events. Furthermore, this analysis of answers in present subjunctive does not confirm that the bilingual group showed a preference for this answer type because there were lower percentages in this group than in the other two Peruvian ones. Nevertheless, it is noticeable that this group produced higher percentages of present subjunctive with past events when using desire

verbs. This finding is contrary to all other groups (which had higher percentages with present events with this verb type).

5.1.2.3 Indicative mood answers

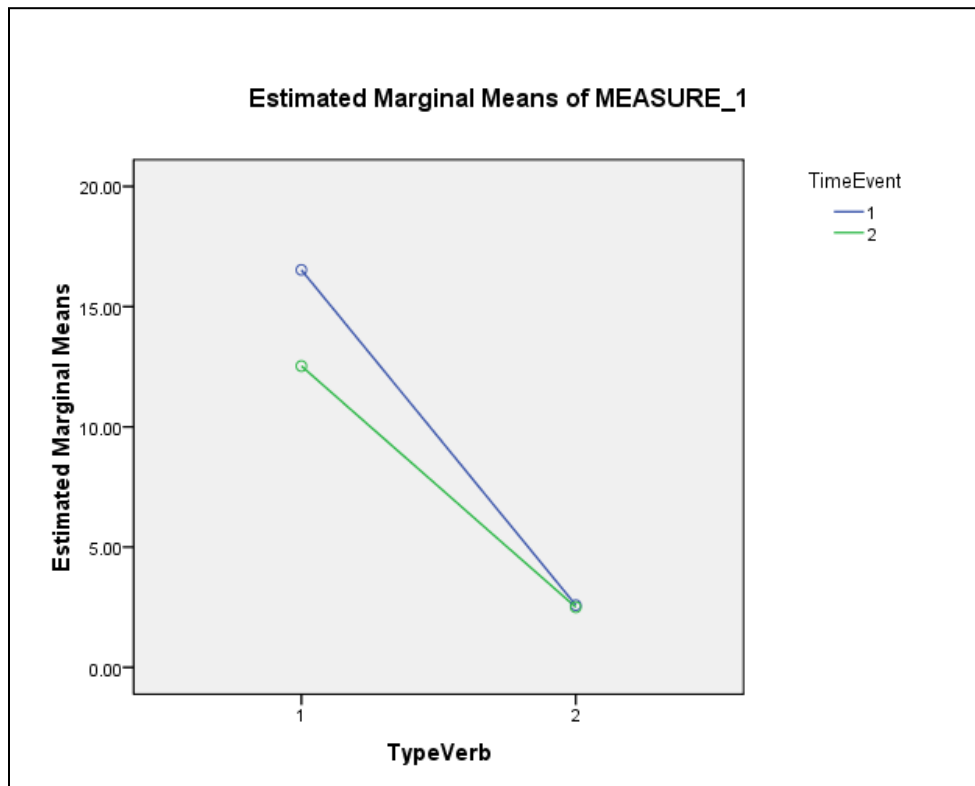
Table 28 shows that there were higher percentages of indicative mood with past events (mean of 9.56%), although it must be emphasized that this type of answers was mostly produced with factive-emotive verbs. Around 2.5% of indicative mood answers for both past and present events were produced with desire verbs. Moreover, the bilingual group is significantly different from the other three groups, since participants in this group produced indicative mood more frequently: 20.65% with present events and 24.46% with past events. However, there were differences based on the verb type too; indicative was preferred with factive-emotive as opposed to desire verbs regardless of the event time.

Table 28 Results for verb type and event time (answers in indicative mood)

	Factive- emotive/ Present events	Desire/ Present events	Present Events (Mean)	Factive- emotive/ Past events	Desire/ Past events	Past Events (Mean)
Bilingual	33.15% (<i>SD</i> = 32.77)	8.15% (<i>SD</i> = 18.31)	20.65%	40.22% (<i>SD</i> = 34.33)	8.70% (<i>SD</i> = 20.45)	24.46%
Most migrant Lima	3.24% (<i>SD</i> = 6.57)	1.85% (<i>SD</i> = 4.53)	2.55%	8.80% (<i>SD</i> = 10.29)	0.46% (<i>SD</i> = 2.41)	4.63%
Least migrant Lima	7.81% (<i>SD</i> = 15.99)	0%	3.91%	12.50% (<i>SD</i> = 13.79)	0.52% (<i>SD</i> = 2.55)	6.51%
Mexican	5.92% (<i>SD</i> = 9.65)	0%	2.96%	4.61% (<i>SD</i> = 7.47)	0.66% (<i>SD</i> = 2.87)	2.64%
Mean	12.53%	2.5%	7.52%	16.53%	2.59%	9.56%

In the 2x2x4 mixed ANOVA, significant effects were found of verb type, $F(1,89) = 59.297$, $p < .05$ and for event time, $F(1,89) = 5.287$, $p < .05$. Thus, there was a significant difference between past and present events in general. Also, there was a significant interaction between verb type and group, $F(3,89) = 12.792$, $p < .05$, and between verb type and event time, $F(1,89) = 6.328$, $p < .05$. Regarding this last interaction, factive-emotive verbs and past events favored indicative answers more, as shown in Figure 22 (TypeVerb “1” refers to factive-emotive verbs for verb type and to past events for event time). On the contrary, desire verbs with present events had the lowest percentages (TypeVerb “2” refers to desire verbs for verb types and present events for event times).

Figure 22 Significant interaction between verb type and event time



It is possible to understand the cause for this difference when considering that indicative is better accepted with factive-emotive rather than with desire verbs (as mentioned in the Literature Review chapter) and also if it is taken into account that indicative answers mainly refer to past tense forms. This is true if Table 29 is analyzed—non-past tense forms (present and future) in indicative mood were produced the least among all groups.

Table 29 Answers in indicative mood (non-past tense forms)

	Factive- emotive/ Present events	Desire/ Present events	Factive- emotive/ Past events	Desire/ Past events
Bilingual	20 (6%)	0	3 (0.9%)	0
Most migrant Lima	4 (2.42%)	3 (1.82%)	3 (1.82%)	0
Least migrant Lima	8 (5.23%)	0	1 (0.65%)	0
Mexican	8 (6.96%)	0	0	0

Furthermore, there was a significant effect of group, $F(3,89) = 13.640$, $p < .05$. Bonferroni pairwise comparisons showed that the bilingual group was significantly different from each of the other groups ($p < .05$). This means that the bilingual group was significantly different from the other three groups with respect to answers in indicative mood, at least for the four contexts considered above.

5.1.2.4 Conditional mood answers

With regard to conditional mood, Table 30 shows that this type of answer was produced with both event times in small percentages, although percentages for present events are higher (mean of 3.76% versus 2.54% of past events). Within groups, the bilingual one produced the highest percentages, whereas the Mexican group produced conditional answers only with factive-emotive verbs in present events (1.31%).

Table 30 Results for verb type and event time (answers in conditional mood)

	Factive- emotive/ Present events	Desire/ Present events	Present Events (Mean)	Factive- emotive/ Past events	Desire/ Past events	Past Events (Mean)
Bilingual	8.15% (<i>SD</i> = 13.90)	12.50% (<i>SD</i> = 19.58)	10.33%	5.98% (<i>SD</i> = 12.43)	9.78% (<i>SD</i> = 20.97)	7.88%
Most migrant Lima	1.85% (<i>SD</i> = 5.70)	0%	0.93%	0.46% (<i>SD</i> = 2.41)	0.93% (<i>SD</i> = 3.34)	0.70%
Least migrant Lima	4.69% (<i>SD</i> = 11.55)	1.56% (<i>SD</i> = 5.61)	3.13%	2.08% (<i>SD</i> = 6.02)	1.04% (<i>SD</i> = 5.10)	1.56%
Mexican	1.31% (<i>SD</i> = 3.94)	0%	0.66%	0%	0%	0%
Mean	4%	3.52%	3.76%	2.13%	2.94%	2.54%

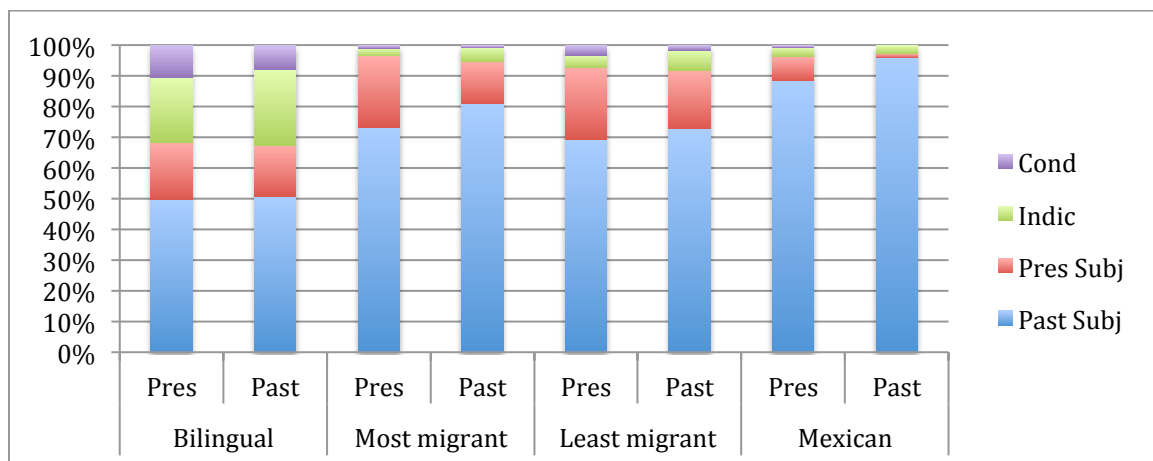
The 2x2x4 mixed ANOVA showed that there was a significant interaction between verb type and group, $F(3,89) = 2.784$, $p < .05$, and a significant effect of event time, $F(1,89) = 4.420$, $p < .05$. The latter, and more important, effect means that participants preferred to produce conditional mood when completing sentences with present events rather than with past events.

There was also a significant effect of group, $F(3,89) = 5.904$, $p < .05$, with pairwise comparisons showing a significant difference between the bilingual group and each of the other groups ($p < .05$). The bilingual group produced higher percentages of conditional answers. This finding, in addition to other significant differences between the bilingual group and the other three, suggests that bilingual participants in the study did not necessarily prefer the standard form to complete their sentences. This must be taken into

account when analyzing how their native language could have had an influence on their Spanish performance.

Figure 23 shows a summary of results of event time, where past subjunctive was preferred in both types of events. There is a small difference between results in the sense that there were higher percentages for past events, although this is not the situation for every group. Also, present subjunctive and indicative were produced in the Peruvian groups, whereas the Mexican group rarely produced them. Moreover, conditional mood answers are also found in the bilingual group. As it was mentioned regarding the verb type factor, chi-square tests for event times also showed that there were significant associations between groups and each type of answers produced by them.

Figure 23 Summary of results for event time



5.1.3 Degree of knowledge

5.1.3.1 Past subjunctive answers

The degree of knowledge factor was only included in stories where the verb type was a lack of knowledge verb (*ignorar* “to not know”). Percentages for how frequently past subjunctive was produced with each level of this factor are presented in Table 31. First, it is possible to see that higher percentages correspond to no-information contexts (mean of 50.75%), although the all-information contexts had the same percentages in some groups (most migrant in Lima and Mexican). In this same sense, the Mexican group

produced the highest amount of past subjunctive answers,⁶⁷ while the bilinguals produced the lowest in all contexts (59.21%, 50%, and 59.21% for all-information, little information, and no-information contexts, respectively).

Table 31 Results for degree of knowledge (answers in past subjunctive)

	All information	Little information	No information	Mean
Bilingual	23.91% (<i>SD</i> = 27.67)	23.91% (<i>SD</i> = 34.11)	31.52% (<i>SD</i> = 30.36)	26.45%
Most migrant Lima	51.85% (<i>SD</i> = 30.95)	43.52% (<i>SD</i> = 23.61)	51.85% (<i>SD</i> = 31.72)	49.07%
Least migrant Lima	45.83% (<i>SD</i> = 35.10)	34.38% (<i>SD</i> = 29.32)	60.42% (<i>SD</i> = 33.72)	46.08%
Mexican	59.21% (<i>SD</i> = 36.52)	50% (<i>SD</i> = 36.32)	59.21% (<i>SD</i> = 40.15)	56.14%
Mean	45.20%	37.95%	50.75%	

A new repeated-measures ANOVA was run for this variable, which showed a significant effect of degree of knowledge, $F(2,178) = 10.48$, $p < .05$. Bonferroni pairwise comparisons show that there was a significant difference between little information and no information: subjects produced more past subjunctive answers with no information than with little information contexts ($p < .05$). According to what was described in the Literature Review chapter, subjunctive was expected to be preferred with no information context because participants had less information and do not necessarily make a commitment to the truth value of the event (see Section 2.4 in the Literature Review chapter). However, there were no significant differences between the all-information and the no-information contexts, which means that subjunctive was still preferred for the all information context, where indicative mood was expected according to the description in the Literature Review chapter.

⁶⁷ Except for the no-information contexts, where highest percentages were produced by the least migrant group in Lima

There was also a significant effect of group, $F(3,89) = 4.451$, $p < .05$, but no interaction with other factors. Bonferroni pairwise comparisons showed that there was a significant difference between the most migrant group in Lima and the bilingual group, and between the latter and the Mexican group ($p < .05$). This lets us confirm that the group from the Andean region differs significantly from two of the other three groups, since it produced less past subjunctive answers than the others. However, it is noticeable that there were no significant differences between the bilinguals and the least migrant group in Lima, despite the fact that the least migrant group had higher percentages of past subjunctive answers.

5.1.3.2 Present subjunctive answers

Table 32 presents results for present subjunctive answers produced for the three levels of the degree of knowledge factor. As it can be seen, low percentages are found in all three levels (means of 4.83%, 5.61%, and 6.02% for all-information, little information, and no-information contexts, respectively). This same pattern is found for each group, although the Mexican group is the most different since it did not produce any answers in present subjunctive.

Table 32 Results for degree of knowledge (answers in present subjunctive)

	All information	Little information	No information	Mean
Bilingual	7.61% (<i>SD</i> = 15.87)	5.43% (<i>SD</i> = 12.96)	5.43% (<i>SD</i> = 10.54)	6.16%
Most migrant Lima	6.48% (<i>SD</i> = 14.86)	5.56% (<i>SD</i> = 12.66)	9.26% (<i>SD</i> = 17.19)	7.1%
Least migrant Lima	5.21% (<i>SD</i> = 16.45)	11.46% (<i>SD</i> = 23.29)	9.38% (<i>SD</i> = 21.88)	8.68%
Mexican				
Mean	4.83%	5.61%	6.02%	

The repeated-measures ANOVA for the degree of knowledge variable showed that there was no significant effect of degree of knowledge. Thus, variation in tense was produced in a similar fashion regardless of the context given to the participants. Furthermore, there was no significant effect of group either, which means that all of the four groups had similar performances with respect to the production of present subjunctive. Therefore, since it was shown that past subjunctive represented around half of the answers for the three levels of degree of knowledge, it is necessary to consider what other grammatical moods were produced, because present subjunctive answers do not represent large percentages.

5.1.3.3 Indicative mood answers

In Table 33, it is possible to see that—just as with past subjunctive—indicative mood answers had high percentages with all three levels of degree of knowledge. The highest mean was 52.28% for answers based on little information contexts, whereas the lowest percentage is found for no-information contexts (mean of 39.69%). However, even in this type of contexts, the bilingual group produced more than half of their answers in indicative mood (55.43%). In general, this group had the highest percentages of producing indicative; on the contrary, the lowest percentages are found in the least migrant group in Lima (47.92% for little information and 28.13% for no information) and in the most migrant group (38.89% for all information).

Table 33 Results for degree of knowledge (answers in indicative mood)

	All information	Little information	No information	Mean
Bilingual	63.04% (<i>SD</i> = 36.83)	63.04% (<i>SD</i> = 41.88)	55.43% (<i>SD</i> = 31.04)	60.50%
Most migrant Lima	38.89% (<i>SD</i> = 35.58)	48.15% (<i>SD</i> = 30.16)	37.04% (<i>SD</i> = 32.79)	41.36%
Least migrant Lima	41.67% (<i>SD</i> = 33.51)	47.92% (<i>SD</i> = 36.05)	28.13% (<i>SD</i> = 28.85)	39.23%
Mexican	40.79% (<i>SD</i> = 36.52)	50% (<i>SD</i> = 36.32)	38.16% (<i>SD</i> = 38.52)	42.98%
Mean	46.10%	52.28%	39.69%	

The repeated-measures ANOVA run for this type of answer showed that degree of knowledge had a significant effect, $F(2,178) = 11.069$, $p < .05$. Bonferroni pairwise comparisons showed that the little information and the no-information contexts were significantly different ($p < .05$), due to the fact that there were more answers in indicative mood within the little information context. The all-information and the no-information contexts were almost significantly different ($p = .051$), with more indicative mood answers produced for the all-information context. Therefore, one can see that the primary difference is found with no-information contexts, which suggests that indicative mood was not preferred when speakers did not have enough information to make a commitment to the truth value of the event. On the contrary, there was no significant effect of group and no interaction, meaning that all groups produced indicative mood in a similar fashion.

5.1.3.4 Conditional mood answers

Percentages for each context within the degree of knowledge factor are presented in Table 34. Overall, conditional was not frequently produced for any of the three levels: 1.33%, 2.63%, and 1.63% for all-information, little information, and no-information contexts, respectively. Nevertheless, it is necessary to look at each group to find higher percentages; both the least migrant group in Lima and the bilingual group produced

conditional mood answers in particular with little information contexts (4.17% for the first group and 5.43% for the last one). On the other hand, the most migrant group in Lima and the Mexican group rarely or never produced conditional mood (0% is found for both groups in some contexts).

The repeated-measures ANOVA showed that neither the degree of knowledge factor nor the interaction between this variable and group were significant. Interestingly, the group variable was not significant either. Therefore, no significant differences can be found between contexts and between groups (see Table 34).

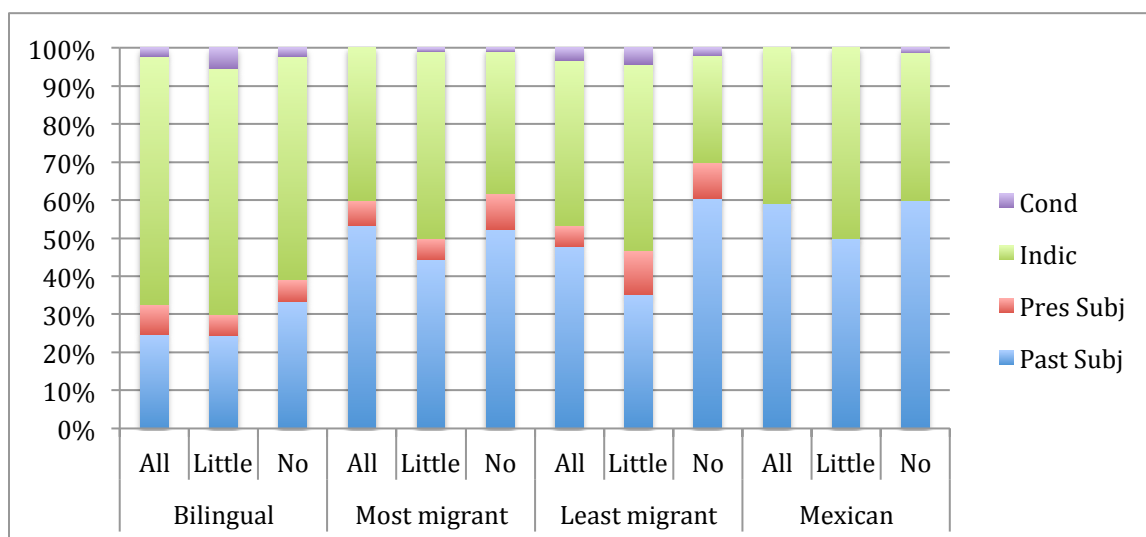
Table 34 Results for degree of knowledge (answers in conditional mood)

	All information	Little information	No information	Mean
Bilingual	2.17% (<i>SD</i> = 10.43)	5.43% (<i>SD</i> = 14.99)	2.17% (<i>SD</i> = 10.43)	3.26%
Most migrant Lima	0%	0.93% (<i>SD</i> = 4.81)	0.93% (<i>SD</i> = 4.81)	0.62%
Least migrant Lima	3.13% (<i>SD</i> = 11.21)	4.17% (<i>SD</i> = 15.93)	2.08% (<i>SD</i> = 10.21)	3.12%
Mexican	0%	0%	1.32% (<i>SD</i> = 5.74)	0.44%
Mean	1.33%	2.63%	1.63%	

Figure 24 summarizes results produced for the degree of knowledge factor. It can be seen that answers were mostly divided in two types in all groups and contexts – past subjunctive and indicative. According to what was proposed in the Literature Review chapter (see Section 2.5 in the Literature Review chapter), if participants had enough information to make a commitment to the truth value of the event, they would prefer to produce indicative rather than subjunctive. In Figure 24, it is possible to see that this was partially confirmed, since there were more answers in indicative with all information contexts (although not in all groups) and more answers in subjunctive with no information contexts.

In addition to that, with regard to groups, the Mexican group is distinct from the other three inasmuch that it produced almost *only* past subjunctive and indicative answers, whereas the Peruvian groups also produced present subjunctive and conditional.

Figure 24 Summary of results for degree of knowledge



In summary, the statistical analyses for my results in the Spanish production task showed that (1) the Mexican group was significantly different from the Peruvian groups and that (2) within the three Peruvian groups, the bilingual group from the Andes differed significantly in many cases. Also, the verb types included in the study did not reflect the continuum proposed by Suñer and Padilla-Rivera in a very precise way, mainly because lack of knowledge verbs had high percentages of variation in mood.

5.2 Acceptability judgment task

The acceptability judgment task was completed by subgroups of the three Peruvian groups of participants. Each subgroup had three participants who answered this task after completing the production task. Compared to the production task, the acceptability judgment task included a fourth linguistic factor, the verbal form that completed the sentences. Two verbal forms were taken into account – past subjunctive and present subjunctive.

5.2.1 Past subjunctive items

Results showed that, overall, the least migrant subgroup rated past subjunctive items with lower scores (1 was non-acceptable, 5 was completely acceptable) when focusing on verb types. This is shown for factive-emotive and desire verbs.

The mixed ANOVA for verb type that considered these data shows that there was a significant effect of verb type and a significant interaction between verb type and group, $F(4,12) = 4.777$, $p < .05$, as the effect size is .614 (large) (see Table 35). This interaction is shown in more detail in Figure 25, where the blue line represents factive-emotive verbs, the green line represents desire verbs, and the yellow line represents lack of knowledge verbs.⁶⁸

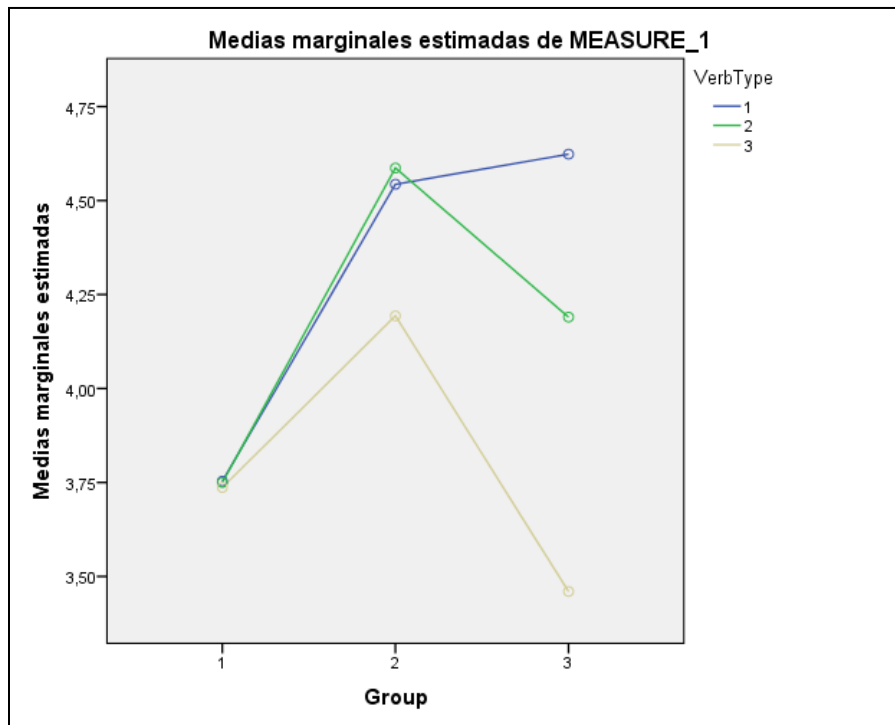
The least migrant subgroup rated all three verb types similarly, whereas the other two groups gave different ratings. The most migrant subgroup gave similar ratings to factive-emotive and desire verbs (higher than ratings of the least migrant subgroup), but lower ratings to lack of knowledge verbs. Finally, the bilingual subgroup rated all types differently: the highest ratings were given to factive-emotive verbs, followed by desire verbs, and then lack of knowledge verbs (with the lowest ratings of all subgroups). It can be observed that the bilingual subgroup gave past subjunctive items higher ratings than the two monolingual subgroups with respect to factive-emotive verbs, but it was the most migrant subgroup that gave the highest ratings in general.

⁶⁸ Group 1 is the least migrant subgroup, Group 2 is the most migrant subgroup, and Group 3 is the bilingual subgroup.

Table 35 Mean rates for verb type (past subjunctive items)

	Factive- emotive/ Past events	Desire/ Past events	Lack of knowledge/ Past events	Mean
Bilingual subgroup	4.63	4.19	3.46	4.09
Most migrant subgroup	4.50	4.66	4.19	4.45
Least migrant subgroup	3.79	3.79	3.65	3.74
Mean	4.31	4.21	3.77	

Figure 25 Interaction between verb type and group (past subjunctive items - AJT)



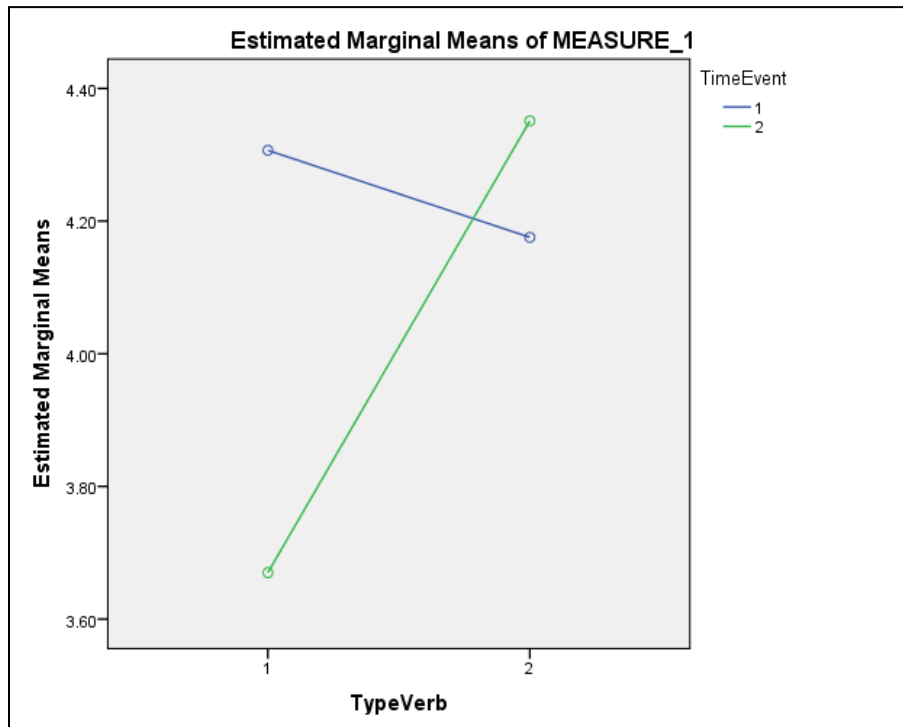
In the same sense, the event time factor showed that past events got the lowest ratings in the least migrant subgroup. On the contrary, present events were rated with lower scores within the bilingual subgroup. Table 36 presents these scores. The mixed ANOVA showed that there was a significant effect of verb type and a significant interaction between verb type and event time, $F(1,6) = 36.850$, $p < .05$, and the effect size is .860 (large). In Figure 26, it is possible to see that the significant interaction is due to

the fact that there is a large difference in ratings between past (blue line) and present events (green line) within factive-emotive verbs (TypeVerb “1”) – whereas the difference is much smaller within desire verbs (TypeVerb “2”).

Table 36 Mean rates for verb type and event time (past subjunctive items)

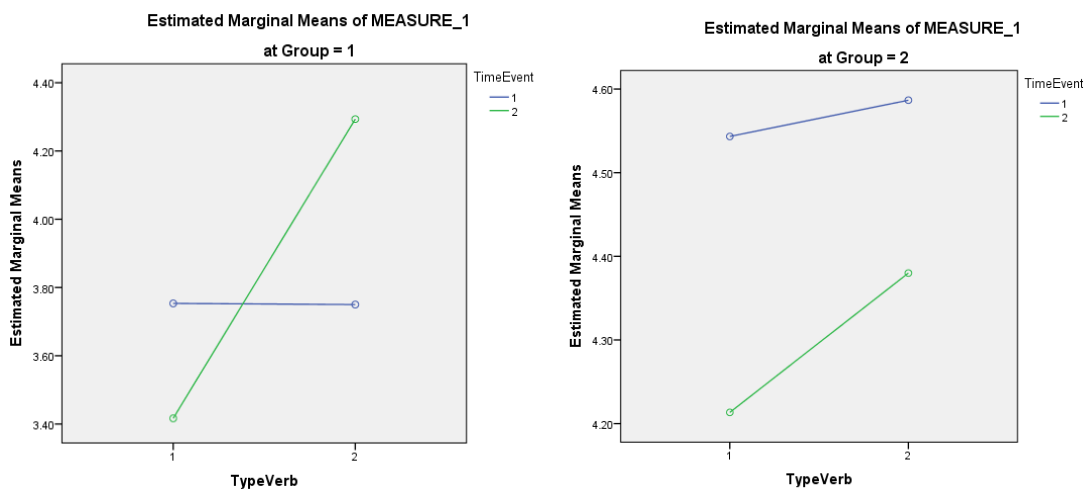
	Factive-emotive/ Present events	Desire/ Present events	Present events (Mean)	Factive-emotive/ Past events	Desire/ Past events	Past events (Mean)
Bilingual subgroup	3.38	4.38	3.88	4.63	4.19	4.41
Most migrant subgroup	4.16	4.47	4.32	4.50	4.66	4.58
Least migrant subgroup	3.63	4.44	4.04	3.79	3.79	3.79
Mean	3.72	4.43	4.08	4.31	4.21	4.26

Figure 26 Interaction between verb type and event time (past subjunctive items - AJT)



Finally, there was a significant interaction between verb type, event time, and group, $F(2,18) = 8.052$, $p < .05$, and the effect size is .729 (large) (see Figure 27). Interestingly, for the least migrant subgroup (a), rates for past events were very similar for both verb types (blue line) and were lower than any other subgroup rates. On the other hand, there was a large difference between past (blue line) and present events (green line) within the most migrant subgroup (b), although rates within this subgroup were the highest overall. Last, the graphic for the bilingual subgroup (c) resembles Figure 26, where the difference between past and present events was very small for desire verbs.

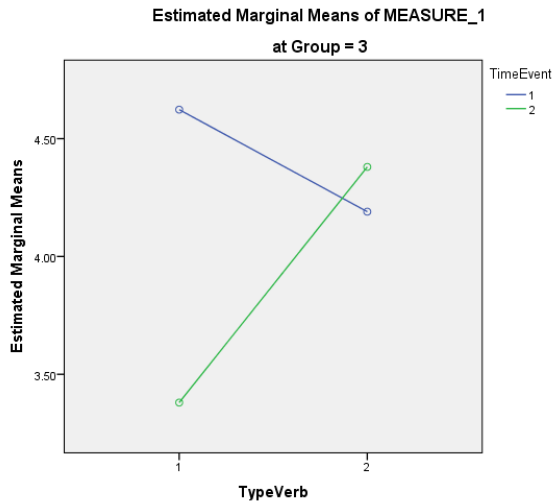
Figure 27 Interaction between verb type, event time, and group (past subjunctive items - AJT)



a) Least migrant group

b) Most migrant Group

Figure 27 (cont.)



c) Bilingual group

Finally, for the degree of knowledge factor, the bilingual subgroup gave lower scores in general, except for the little information contexts. Overall, similarly to what was found as results in the production task, there were no significant effects of degree of knowledge or interactions between this factor and groups (see Table 37).

Table 37 Mean rates for degree of knowledge (past subjunctive items)

	All information	Little information	No information	Mean
Bilingual subgroup	3.38	4.00	3.00	3.46
Most migrant subgroup	4.13	4.31	4.13	4.19
Least migrant subgroup	3.75	3.75	3.46	3.65
Mean	3.75	4.02	3.53	

5.2.2 Present subjunctive items

In addition to past subjunctive items, the acceptability judgment task also included present subjunctive items. In fact, because percentages of present subjunctive answers in the production task do not let us confirm whether variation in tense is a reinforcement of language contact, it is necessary to look at the results of this secondary

task. Table 38 shows the mean rates for each verb type and each group. Overall, the most migrant subgroup rated items higher than the other two, meaning that they are more accepting of present subjunctive. In addition to this, both factive-emotive and desire verbs got very similar ratings.

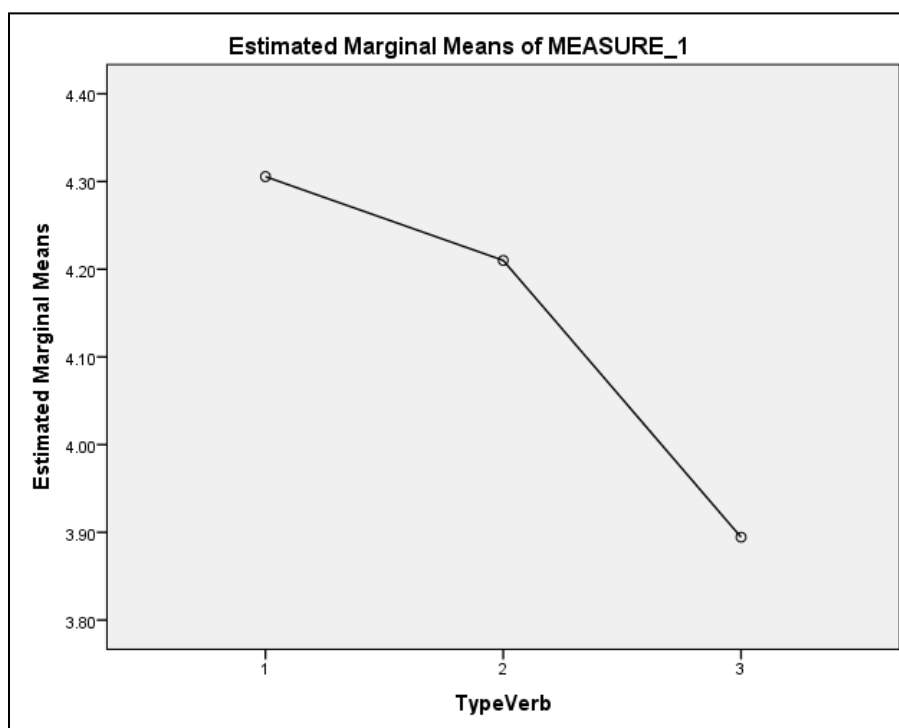
Table 38 Mean rates for verb type (present subjunctive items)

	Factive- emotive/ Past events	Desire/ Past events	Lack of knowledge/ Past events	Mean
Bilingual subgroup	3.75	4.25	3.79	3.93
Most migrant subgroup	4.63	4.53	4.21	4.46
Least migrant subgroup	4.65	4.19	3.85	4.23
Mean	4.34	4.32	3.95	

The repeated-measures ANOVA for the three verb types with present subjunctive items showed a significant effect of verb type, $F(2,12) = 5.578$, $p < .05$, and the effect size is .482 (medium-large). Bonferroni pairwise comparisons between the three types revealed that factive-emotive and lack of knowledge verbs were significantly different from each other ($p < .05$). Higher ratings were given for factive-emotive verbs, as Figure 28 shows.⁶⁹

⁶⁹ TypeVerb “1” is factive-emotive, TypeVerb “2” is desire, and TypeVerb “3” is lack of knowledge verbs.

Figure 28 Main effect for verb type with present subjunctive items (AJT)



Thus, if there is no significant difference between factive-emotive and desire verbs, participants considered present subjunctive forms with both verb types more acceptable than with lack of knowledge verbs (results that are slightly similar to the ones for the production task). On the contrary, there was no significant effect of group, so I can say that all three subgroups rated present subjunctive with the three verb types in a similar fashion. In that sense, it is not possible to confirm that the bilingual group accepts variation in tense more than the other two Peruvian groups.

With regard to the event time factor, Table 39 presents the mean of the ratings⁷⁰ assigned by each subgroup, where items in present subjunctive were highly rated by all subgroups. The 2x2x3 mixed ANOVA for these data showed that there were no significant interactions or effects, which suggests that all groups consider present subjunctive items in a similar way.

⁷⁰ On a scale from 1 to 5, with 1 being not acceptable and 5 being completely acceptable

Table 39 Mean rates for verb type and event time (present subjunctive items)

	Factive- emotive/ Present events	Desire/ Present events	Present events (Mean)	Factive- emotive/ Past events	Desire/ Past events	Past events (Mean)
Bilingual subgroup	4.00	4.13	4.07	3.75	4.25	4.00
Most migrant subgroup	4.34	4.53	4.44	4.63	4.53	4.58
Least migrant subgroup	3.92	3.88	3.9	4.65	4.19	4.42
Mean	4.09	4.18	4.14	4.34	4.32	4.33

Lastly, for the degree of knowledge factor, higher ratings were given by the most migrant subgroup, although there were no significant differences between subgroups. No significant effect of degree of knowledge was found either. The interaction between both factors was almost significant ($p=.059$), possibly due to the very different ratings given by the least migrant subgroup, which were the opposite of the ratings given by the bilingual subgroup (see Table 40).

Table 40 Mean rates for degree of knowledge (present subjunctive items)

	All information	Little information	No information	Mean
Bilingual subgroup	3.63	4.25	3.50	3.79
Most migrant subgroup	4.56	4.25	3.81	4.21
Least migrant subgroup	4.50	3.25	3.79	3.85
Mean	4.23	3.92	3.70	

Given the rate means presented in this section, one should notice that the acceptability judgment task does not confirm that present subjunctive forms were preferred by bilingual speakers. Thus, these results are similar to results of the production task in the sense that they do not show that variation in tense is a more frequent phenomenon in bilinguals.

5.3 Production task in Quechua

Before the significance of the results of the production task in Quechua can be fully understood, it is important to summarize the results of the bilingual group within the production task in Spanish. Results for the production task in Spanish showed that the bilingual group had a mean percentage of 50.28% for past subjunctive answers with past events and 48.64% with present events (refer to Table 26). Also, when lack of knowledge verbs are factored in with past events, the mean percentage is 42.33% (since past subjunctive had a percentage of 26.45% with this third verb type; refer to Table 22). When focusing on verb type, statistical analyses showed that bilinguals were significantly different from the rest of the groups, because they had the lowest percentage of past subjunctive. The same significant difference was found for both past and present events in the case of the event time factor.

With regard to present subjunctive, there were no significant differences between the bilingual group and the two other Peruvian groups based on answers produced for both verb type and event time. On the other hand, when looking at other grammatical moods, the bilingual group had the highest percentages of indicative answers, with a

mean of 36.47% for verb type (refer to Table 24) and means of 20.65% (present events) and 24.46% (past events) for event time (refer to Table 28). Statistical analyses confirmed the difference too, since bilinguals had significantly higher percentages than all other groups with any of the linguistic factors studied.

Finally, within answers in conditional mood, the bilingual group had significantly higher means for verb type when compared to the most migrant group and the Mexican group (i.e. it was not significantly different from the least migrant group). Similar results were found for event time, where present and past events means were significantly higher for bilinguals than for any other group.

Using the results of the Spanish production task as a basis of comparison, it is necessary to look at answers for the Quechua production task in order to see whether the bilingual group's answers in Spanish could have been influenced by Quechua. In the Literature Review chapter, I presented a description of how nominal subordinate clauses are constructed in Quechua; two main nominalizer suffixes were described: *-na* and *-sqa* (see Section 2.4 in the Literature Review chapter). Whereas the former refers to actions that take place after the main verb action, the latter refers to actions that have already taken place (i.e. before the action of the main verb).

As mentioned above, *-na* and *-sqa* are nominalizers, meaning that they turn the clause into a nominal phrase. In Table 41, percentages for each suffix are presented by verb type, i.e. percentages make reference to the frequency with which participants used those specific suffixes to construct the last sentence of the stories. In Table 42, results are presented by event time.

Table 41 Results by verb type⁷¹ (Production task in Quechua)

	Factive-emotive	Desire	Lack of knowledge
-na	21.74%	75.00%	18.84%
-sqa	33.69%	4.35%	41.67%
-rqa	7.07%	2.17%	15.94%
Other inflections	37.05%	18.48%	23.55%

Table 42 Results by event time (Production task in Quechua)

	Factive-emotive/ Present events	Desire/ Present Events	Present Events (Mean)	Factive-emotive/ Past events	Desire/ Past Events	Past Events (Mean)
-na	34.78%	83.15%	58.96%	21.74%	75.00%	48.37%
-sqa	33.70%	1.63%	17.66%	33.69%	4.35%	19.02%
-rqa	2.17%	2.17%	2.17%	7.07%	2.17%	4.62%
Other inflections	29.35%	13.05%	21.2%	37.05%	18.48%	27.77%

Examples (66) and (67) were produced by participants. Example (66) is an example with a desire verb and a past event; in this case, the sentence that completes the story is constructed with *-na*, expressing that Rosa's mother wanted her to be at home earlier. On the other hand, example (67) is a story with a factive-emotive verb and a past event; this second sentence is constructed with *-sqa* because the action of knowing how to walk happened before the main verb event.

⁷¹ Only past events have been included in these percentages because present events were not combined with lack of knowledge verbs

(66) Example with *-na*

Contexto: Rosa llega a su casa muy tarde en la noche y encuentra a su hermano viendo televisión. Pregunta por su mamá y se entera que ya está durmiendo.

Su hermano dice: “Está molesta contigo. A las 5 se fue a comprar las cosas para tu fiesta del sábado. Te estuvo esperando un buen rato, porque ella quería que tú...

(“Context: Rosa gets home really late at night and finds her brother watching TV. She asks for her mother and he tells her that she is already sleeping.

Rosa's brother says: ‘Mom is mad at you. At 5, she went to buy stuff for your Saturday party. She was waiting for you for a long time, because she wanted you to...’)

Answer:

- Kaypi ka-**na**-yki-ta pay-wan (muna-rqa-Ø)
here be-Nomin-2Sg-Acc she-Obl (want-Past-3Sg)
“(She wanted) you to be with her”

(67) Example with *-sqa*

Contexto: El hijo menor de Mónica le está haciendo muchas preguntas a ella sobre su época de bebé. Él quiere saber las cosas que hacía y lo que Mónica pensaba de él.

Mónica dice: “Tú eras un bebito muy lindo. Como todavía no sabías caminar, siempre gateabas mucho por toda la casa. Yo me alegraba de que tú...

(“Context: Mónica’s youngest son is asking her about the time when he was a baby. He wants to know what things he used to do and what Mónica thought of him.

Mónica says: ‘You were such a pretty baby. Since you didn’t know how to walk yet, you were always crawling around the house. I was happy that you...’)

Answer:

- Qam puri-y yacha-**sqa**-yki-manta (kusiku-rqa-ni)
you walk-Inf know-Nomin-2Sg-Obl (be happy-Past-1Sg)
“I was happy that you knew how to walk”

However, other suffixes were produced as well. For instance, the past tense morpheme *-rqa* was mainly used with lack of knowledge verbs (and partially with factive emotive verbs in past events). This suffix expresses past tense in verbal phrases rather than in nominal phrases, as in example (68). As it is shown in the example, in these cases, participants produced a whole new sentence instead of an embedded nominal clause to complete the sentence. There is no explicit connection or morpheme that indicates that this new sentence should be understood as the direct object of the old sentence (“I didn’t know that...”); it is just the juxtaposition of clauses that creates the connection between them.

(68) Example with *-rqa*

Contexto: El señor Rodríguez está contando sus recuerdos de colegio a sus nietos. Les está hablando de Marco, uno de sus mejores amigos en la secundaria.

El señor Rodríguez dice: “Desde que salimos del colegio, no he sabido nada más de Marco. Él era bien buena gente pero a veces no quería contar nada sobre su familia y nunca supe mucho de ellos. Por ejemplo, yo ignoraba que él...”

(“Context: Mr. Rodríguez is telling his school memories to his grandchildren. He is talking about Marco, one of his best friends in high school.

Mr. Rodríguez says: ‘Since we finished high school, I haven’t heard of Marco. He was a very nice person but sometimes didn’t want to talk about his family; I never knew much about them. For example, I did not know that he...’)

Answer:

- Mana ñuqa yacha-r(q)a-ni-chu familian ka-**rqa**-Ø mala
no I know-Past-1Sg-Neg his family be-Past-3Sg bad
“I did not know that his family was bad”

Finally, examples (69) and (70) also show that other inflections were given as answers. This refers to cases where juxtapositions of two sentences were produced, just as in the case of sentences with *-rqa*. Nevertheless, instead of *-rqa*, sentences were constructed with other suffixes; e.g. future tense morphemes were used when completing

stories with present events and adverbial clauses when completing stories with past events. Examples are provided in sentence (69), where the future suffix *-nqa* was used, and sentence (70), where the suffix *-pti* was used. This suffix is used to construct adverbial clauses (Cerrón-Palomino 1987, Soto Ruiz 1976), as the example shows.

(69) Example with *-nqa*

Contexto: Nora regresa a su casa tarde y su hermana le cuenta que unos tíos llegaron a recoger las invitaciones para el matrimonio de Nora.

Su hermana dice: “La tía Bertha se sorprendió al ver que el matrimonio va a ser en diciembre. Dice que ellos se van de viaje para esa época. La tía lamentó que tú...

(“Context: Nora comes back home really late and her sister tells her that their aunt and uncle came to pick up their invitations to Nora’s wedding.

Her sister says: ‘Aunt Bertha was surprised that your wedding is in December. She says that they will be traveling by that time. She was sorry that you...’)

Answer:

- Mana ka-**nqa**-chu fiestapi llakisqa ka-rqa-Ø
no be-3Sg.Fut-Neg at the party sad be-Past-3Sg
“She was sorry that she was not going to be at the party”

(70) Example with *-pti*

Contexto: El hijo menor de Mónica le está haciendo muchas preguntas a ella sobre su época de bebé. “Él quiere saber las cosas que hacía y lo que Mónica pensaba de él.

Mónica dice: “Tú eras un bebito muy lindo. Como todavía no sabías caminar, siempre gateabas mucho por toda la casa. Yo me alegraba de que tú...

(“Context: Mónica’s youngest son is asking her about the time when he was a baby. He wants to know what things he used to do and what Mónica thought of him.

Mónica says: ‘You were such a pretty baby. Since you didn’t know how to walk yet, you were always crawling around the house. I was happy that you...’)

Answer:

- Qam puri-y-ta muna-**pti**-yki
you walk-Inf-Acc want-Adverb-2Sg
“(I was happy) when you wanted/were trying to walk”

Thus, it is possible to see that some inflection suffixes were used in cases where the event of the subordinate clause was a future event (taking place after both the main verb event and the moment of the speech), such as in example (69). On the other hand, adverbial clauses were constructed with past events, such as in example (70). This type of answer suggests that participants did not give an answer in Quechua that was exactly the same as their answer in Spanish. Their Spanish answer had to follow the prompt *Yo me alegraba de que tú...* (“I was happy that you...”), thus making them produce a nominal clause. In Quechua, on the contrary, they did not follow a prompt and changed the type of subordinate clause to be used. In these cases, it is possible to observe that because the production task was administered only in Spanish, participants did not follow the exact prompt in Quechua.

One can attribute the same reasoning to the fact that the past tense suffix *-rqa* was used in many cases, in particular with lack of knowledge verbs. If both the main clause and the subordinate clause were produced as a juxtaposition of clauses in Quechua, then it was not necessary to use any kind of subordination conjunction or nominalizer. Again, this is related to the fact that there was no prompt presented in Quechua, so participants could have ignored the Spanish prompt when producing their answers in Quechua.

However, it must be noted that, although lack of knowledge verbs had 15.94% of answers with *-rqa*, answers produced with either *-na* or *-sqa* were the majority – even with this third verb type (e.g. 41.67% of answers with *-sqa*). Therefore, the nominalizers *-na* and *-sqa* were preferred to construct subordinated clauses in Quechua. Of those two, desire verbs had higher percentages of *-na*, with factive-emotive verbs having higher percentages of *-sqa* (although not as high as other inflections).

This last finding suggests that participants expressed that the subordinate clause event was realized within stories with factive-emotive verbs. This result, taken together with the high percentage of other inflections within this last verb type, indicates that participants did not necessarily consider those events as representing potential realization. This must be related to results of the Spanish production task, where the bilingual group had 40.22% of indicative answers with factive-emotive verbs (refer to Table 24). As it was mentioned in the research questions section of the Literature Review chapter (see Section 2.5), an alternation between indicative and subjunctive is common within factive-emotive verbs when referring to events that had already taken place.

Nevertheless, when focusing on event time, *-na* was mainly preferred over *-sqa* with both past and present events. In other words, events were presented as representing potential realization (or unrealized) even when they were only possible in the past.

In summary, the Quechua production task results confirmed that participants preferred the nominalizers *-na* and *-sqa* when completing the stories of the task. However, this finding is not directly related to the results of the Spanish production task for the bilingual group. What was unexpected in these last results was the high percentages of non-subjunctive answers, in particular indicative mood answers. As it is presented in the following Discussion chapter, it is necessary to focus on the type of task and the verb types included in the main clause in order to understand how Quechua-Spanish contact was reflected in the Spanish results of my bilingual group.

CHAPTER 6

DISCUSSION

In the previous chapter, results were presented according to the linguistic factors considered in the study. Within each factor, each type of answer produced by participants in the production task was described. Thus, statistically significant effects and interactions (including possible interactions) were presented. Therefore, in the first three sections of this chapter, I discuss the results found in terms of linguistic factors (verb type, event time, and degree of knowledge) and their levels. The fourth and final section focuses specifically on the group variable, looking at each group and each specific type of answer produced by those speakers.

6.1 Verb type

There were more answers in past subjunctive with desire verbs than with factive-emotive verbs (means of 79.03% versus 70.22%, statistically significant difference; refer to Table 22), which follows Suñer and Padilla-Rivera's classification (see Section 2.2 in the Literature Review chapter). In this continuum of verbs, desire verbs are stricter in terms of accepting variation than factive-emotive verbs, i.e. I could expect answers for factive-emotive verbs that were not in past subjunctive. According to the statistical analysis, the quantity of past subjunctive answers with factive-emotive verbs was significantly different from the number of answers with the other two verb types. Thus, for this first verb type, Suñer and Padilla-Rivera's continuum was confirmed.

On the other hand, Suñer and Padilla-Rivera's continuum could not be confirmed when lack of knowledge verbs was considered. Past subjunctive represents 44.44% of answers with this verb type (refer to Table 22), the strictest type in terms of requiring this type of answers. This percentage is lower and significantly different from the percentage of desire verbs (79.03%). Based on the continuum, I would expect the opposite situation. Thus, other types of answers (and not the standard form) were produced with lack of knowledge verbs.

However, there were also answers in present subjunctive (variation in tense) with all three verb types (refer to Table 23). This is true particularly for the groups that speak varieties of Peruvian Spanish. Thus, restrictions included in Suñer and Padilla-Rivera's classification are not strictly followed by Peruvian Spanish speakers: they produced tense variation with all verb types. Factive-emotive verbs had a mean of 9.69%, although higher percentages are observed for two out of three Peruvian groups (17.19% for the least migrants in Lima and 10.33% for bilinguals).

However, when comparing factive-emotive and desire verbs, I could expect to find more present subjunctive with the first type, because it accepts variation more than the second one (according to Suñer and Padilla-Rivera). Nevertheless, this was not found; while factive-emotive had 9.69% of present subjunctive answers, desire verbs had a mean of 14.68%; this was mainly due to percentages within Peruvian groups: 19.27% for the least migrants in Lima, 17.59% for the most migrants, and 21.20% for bilinguals. Because of these numbers, variation in tense was produced more with desire rather than with factive-emotive verbs, which can be seen as in opposition to the proposal of Suñer and Padilla-Rivera (since factive-emotive verbs are considered less strict in terms of accepting present subjunctive). Also, all verb types were significantly different from one another, according to the statistical analysis. This suggests that participants decided to use other grammatical moods with factive-emotive verbs and this is why tense variation was not as high as in desire verbs.

With respect to how desire verbs were different from lack of knowledge verbs (the third type), results showed that the former had a higher percentage: means of 14.68% versus 5.49%, and a significant difference. Therefore, I could say that these numbers confirm what Suñer and Padilla-Rivera proposed – that lack of knowledge verbs are strictest in terms of accepting present subjunctive instead of past subjunctive. Nevertheless, this was not due to the amount of past subjunctive answers, as it was shown above, as there were other types of answers produced with last type as well.

Although most answers with factive-emotive verbs had subjunctive mood, there was a mean of 16.53% and 2.13% for answers in indicative and conditional mood, respectively. Within groups, percentages were even higher, in particular for the bilingual group: 40.22% for indicative mood and 5.98% for conditional (refer to Table 24 and Table 25, respectively).

The difference between factive-emotive and the other verb types was significant for indicative mood according to the statistical analyses: the percentage for my first verb type (16.53%) was much higher than for desire verbs (2.59%), and much lower than for lack of knowledge verbs (46.02%) (refer to Table 24).

As it was mentioned in the research questions section (see Section 2.5 in the Literature Review chapter), Spanish speakers tend to alternate between indicative and subjunctive (both in past tense) in the nominal clause when using factive-emotive verbs in the main clause (Blake 1982, Terrell and Hooper 1974). Therefore, both examples (71) and (72) are considered to be acceptable sentences by native speakers even in standard varieties.

(71) Se alegró de que vinieras.
 be glad-3Sg.Past.Ind of that come-2Sg.Past.Subj
 “She was glad that you came/will come”

(72) Se alegró de que viniste.
 be glad-3Sg.Past.Ind of that come-2Sg.Past.Ind
 “She was glad that you came”

I can argue that this finding is in accordance with what Gudmestad (2010) found – with comment verbs (factive-emotive verbs), there is a high preference for subjunctive mood (see Section 2.3.1 in the Literature Review chapter).

Percentages were very low for non-subjunctive answers with desire verbs: 2.59% for indicative and 2.94% for conditional (refer to Table 24 and Table 25, respectively). As it was mentioned, the indicative answers showed significant differences between the three verb types in the statistical analysis. In the case of desire verbs, the low percentage can be attributed to the fact that this verb type requires subjunctive mood in the subordinate clause (regardless of the tense). This rule can be observed in the three monolingual groups: 0.52% (least migrant), 0.46% (most migrant), 0.66% (Mexicans). It was the bilingual group the one that produced higher amounts (8.70%). Because of this, it is necessary to focus on the fact that Spanish is not necessary the native language of all members of that group and how it might have had an influence on their results.

An alternation between indicative and subjunctive is not possible in the case of desire verbs in the main clause. The use of indicative mood in the nominal clause is considered to be ungrammatical by native speakers (compare examples 73 and 74).

(73) Quería que vinieras.
 be glad-3Sg.Past.Ind that come-2Sg.Past.Subj
 “She wanted you to come”

(74) *Quería que viniste.
 be glad-3Sg.Past.Ind that come-2Sg.Past.Ind
 “She wanted you to come”

The comparison between indicative and past subjunctive (8.70% versus 58.70%) shows the high preference for the latter (refer to Table 22 and 24, respectively). The same can be found with regard to conditional mood (refer to Table 25). The bilingual group had a mean of 9.78%, whereas the other three had means of 1.04% (least migrant), 0.93% (most migrant), and 0% (Mexicans). Because of this difference, a significant interaction between verb type and group was found.⁷² This is discussed in the Section 6.4 of this chapter.

⁷² See Figure 20 in the results chapter.

Regarding lack of knowledge verbs, it is possible to see that subjunctive mood answers add up to 50% of the answers. The other 50% were mainly answers in indicative mood (46.02% versus a mean of 1.86% for conditional). Neither present subjunctive nor conditional mood percentages were as high as indicative mood percentages were.

For indicative answers, lack of knowledge verbs were significantly different from the two other verbs, which had much lower percentages in any of the four groups. As it was suggested in the Results chapter, it is possible that indicative was produced in cases where participants considered that they had all the information needed to express their commitment to the truth value of the event. This is related to the last linguistic factor addressed in this study – the degree of knowledge of the speaker.

6.2 Event time

Answers in past subjunctive within present events had a mean of 69.32%, which was significantly different from past events, because this last one had higher percentages (mean of 74.63%) (refer to Table 26). Accordingly, it is possible to see why there was a lower percentage for present events; these are events that can possibly happen in the present or future, because they have not taken place yet. If they have not happened yet, they are subsequent to both the main verb event and the time of communication, according to Suñer and Padilla-Rivera (1987).⁷³ Consequently, in these cases, past subjunctive is not necessarily expected. On the other hand, it is possible to state that the higher percentages yielded for past events must be related to the fact that the event has taken place already. According to Suñer and Padilla-Rivera (1987), present subjunctive is allowed when the event is yet to take place; otherwise, past subjunctive is expected in standard Spanish.

Present subjunctive was produced in both event types, but the difference between them was significant, according to the mixed ANOVA for this answer type: means of 18.04% for present and 12.44% for past events (refer to Table 27). Thus, it is possible to see that present subjunctive had higher percentages with present events. As it was

⁷³ See Literature Review chapter (see Section 2.2).

explained already, this can be related to the fact that present events are subsequent to the main verb and the time of communication. Therefore, in general, I can state that participants follow the standard rules when considering the difference of both even times.

With respect to variation in mood, there were 7.52% and 9.56% of answers in indicative with present and past events, respectively (refer to Table 28). This difference was significant. Regarding indicative, percentages were lower because indicative answers were preferred when participants wanted to express events that had already taken place (past events). Of the total amount of answers in indicative, most of them were produced with factive-emotive verbs (mean of 12.53% versus 2.5% of desire verbs; refer to Table 28)⁷⁴ because of the nature of this verb type. As it was explained in the previous section, the indicative answers produced by participants were mainly with factive-emotive verbs (there was a significant interaction between verb type and event time) and in past tense forms. Within this verb type, it is possible to find both subjunctive and indicative answers in past tense, as it was described in the previous section about factive-emotive verbs.

For conditional mood, present events had a mean of 3.76%, which was also significantly different from past events (2.54%). In this case, higher percentages are found in present events, in particular with factive-emotive verbs. It is possible to find an explanation for these answers in the fact that an answer in conditional mood in the subordinate clause can make reference to future when the main clause has a verb in past tense (Rojo and Veiga 1999), like in example (75). Factive-emotive verbs are one verb type that can accept these verbal forms in the subordinate clause.

- (75) Se alegró de que vendrías
be glad-3Sg.Past.Ind of that come-2Sg.Cond
“She was glad that you would come”

⁷⁴ Lack of knowledge verbs—the third verb type—were not taken into account because they were not combined with present events.

With desire verbs, percentages were very low for the three monolingual groups (between 0% and 1.56%; refer to Table 30). However, the bilingual group had higher percentages for both present and past events, and for both verb types. This is discussed in the group section of this chapter.

6.3 Degree of knowledge

The degree of knowledge factor was only included in stories where the verb type was a lack of knowledge verb (*ignorar*, “to not know”). Also, lack of knowledge verbs were used only with past events, due to the meaning of this type of verbs. For the first level, all information, past subjunctive answers had a mean of 45.20% (refer to Table 31).

According to the statistical analysis, this type of context was not significantly different from the two other contexts (little information and no information). For instance, if no-information and all-information contexts are not significantly different, this means that participants produced past subjunctive in a similar fashion for both contexts. According to the hypothesis presented in Chapter 2, subjunctive would not be preferred with all information contexts, since participants would have enough information and could make their commitment to the truth value of the event – leading them to choose indicative mood. However, results showed the unexpected situation, where past subjunctive had a mean of 45.20%, which was not different from results in the other contexts. It is true that the mean for all-information contexts was lower than the mean of no-information contexts (50.75%), but the lack of significance suggests that having all the information in the stories was not enough for participants to choose indicative mood.

This finding represents that this context type (all-information) was not taken as a context in which every detail of information was completely clear for participants. For some of them, the information given created a situation where the answer they had to produce was almost obvious, which meant that speakers had acquired all the information needed that they did not previously know (and therefore, produced indicative). On the other hand, for the rest of the speakers, there was still some information missing, so that

they could not consider themselves to have all the information needed at the moment of producing their answers (and therefore, they used subjunctive and not indicative).

For instance, two actual answers are presented here in example (76). The first one is in indicative, because the speaker must have assumed that since Ursula's friend was afraid of the doctor, she must have cried a lot every time she had to go. Thus, the speaker must have assumed that he/she had all the necessary information to make a commitment to the truth of the clause. On the contrary, the second answer is in subjunctive. In this case, the speaker must have assumed that it is not necessarily obvious that if Ursula's friend was afraid of the doctor, she did not want to go when she was a little girl. If it is not presupposed information, the truth value of the subordinate clause could be either true or false, and the speaker wanted to express a doubt about whether it was true that Ursula's friend did not want to go to the doctor.

(66)

Contexto: Ursula conoció al primo de una de sus amigas hace unos días y hoy le está contando a ella lo que habló con el primo.

Ursula dice: “Él me contó muchas cosas de ti que yo no sabía. Por ejemplo, me dijo que te daba miedo ir al médico cuando eras niña. Yo ignoraba que tú...

(“Context: Ursula met one of her friend's cousins a few days ago and today she is telling her friend what she talked about with her cousin.

Ursula says: ‘He told me many things about you that I didn't know. For example, he said that you were afraid of going to the doctor when you were a little girl. I didn't know that you...’)

Answer:

- (Yo ignoraba que tú) llorabas
cry-2Sg.Past.Imp.Ind
“(I didn't know that you) used to cry”

Answer:

- (Yo ignoraba que tú) no quisieras ir al doctor
no want-2Sg.Past.Subj to go to the doctor
“(I didn’t know that you) didn’t want to go the doctor”

The mean percentage of past subjunctive answers for little information contexts was 37.95%, the lowest in the three contexts (refer to Table 31). According to the statistical analysis, the difference between little information contexts and no-information contexts (mean of 50.75%) was significant. Thus, different from what was found for all-information contexts, past subjunctive was significantly lower for little information than for no-information contexts. Therefore, for this specific type of contexts, I can confirm that participants did not prefer subjunctive when they had some information for making their commitment to the truth value of the event. Finally, it is possible to see that participants preferred to produce past subjunctive with no-information contexts (more than half of the answers), which means that they considered that there was not enough information to make a commitment to the truth value of the event.

On the other hand, answers in present subjunctive for all-information contexts were very low (mean of 4.83%; refer to Table 32). This was not significantly different from any of the other contexts (means of 5.61% for little information and 6.02% for no information). This result suggests that variation in tense did not depend on the degree of knowledge of the speaker. Nevertheless, it is noticeable that only the Peruvian groups produced this type of answers (the percentage yielded by the Mexican group was 0%), which is discussed in the group section of this chapter.

Therefore, it is possible to see that results for lack of knowledge verbs were not particularly related to variation in tense, but rather to variation in mood. With regard to indicative mood answers, it was one of the answer types with higher percentages among the four groups of participants. In fact, as it was shown in the Results chapter, all-information contexts had a mean of 46.10% (refer to Table 33). This percentage was higher than the mean for no-information contexts (39.69%), but lower than the mean for

little information contexts (52.28%). Of these differences, only the all-information and the no-information contexts were almost significantly different ($p=.051$) because of the higher percentages with the first type of contexts.

For all-information contexts, I expected to find that participants prefer indicative mood because they would consider themselves to have all details and information necessary to make a commitment to the truth value of the event. Thus, given that the difference between all-information and no-information was almost significant, it is possible to claim that having all details about the stories was relevant for participants. On the other hand, the lack of a significant difference between all-information and little information suggests that participants considered both contexts similar in terms of the degree of knowledge they had about the event.

Nevertheless, if I compare percentages mentioned above for both indicative and past subjunctive answers, there is not a large difference between them: 46.10% versus 45.20%, respectively. I ran a chi-square test for these two types of answers and found no significant differences, $X^2(1) = 0.47$, $p>.05$. This means that for all-information contexts, participants used either indicative or past subjunctive in a very similar fashion. Thus, as it was suggested in the previous paragraphs, following the averages, almost half of the participants did choose indicative, but almost the entire other half chose past subjunctive because they did not consider themselves to have enough information to make a commitment to the truth value of the event.

On the other hand, the little information and the no-information contexts were significantly different ($p<.05$) due to the fact that there were more answers in indicative mood for the little information context (mean of 39.69% for no information contexts; refer to Table 33). Moreover, when focusing on little information only, indicative mood had higher percentages than past subjunctive (52.28% versus 37.95%, respectively). If I add to these findings that all-information contexts were almost significantly different from no-information contexts, I can confirm that indicative mood was preferred with contexts where participants could have at least some information details. On the contrary,

one can observe that participants preferred subjunctive instead of indicative mood when they considered that there was not enough information to express commitment to the truth value of the event.

Therefore, I confirm that no-information contexts had less indicative mood answers than the two other contexts. In addition to that, subjunctive was preferred with no information (50.75% versus 39.69% of indicative), whereas indicative was preferred with little information (52.28% versus 37.95% of subjunctive) (refer to Table 31 and Table 33). It is the all-information context level that did not follow the same pattern and did not confirm the expected predictions. As it has been already discussed, participants could have assumed that the information given to them was not enough to express a commitment to the truth value of the event.

Finally, with respect to conditional mood answers, all information contexts had the lowest mean (1.33%) among the three levels (refer to Table 34). Furthermore, two groups had 0% of this type of answers (the most migrant group in Lima and the Mexican group). The statistical analysis showed that degree of knowledge did not have a significant effect; so conditional mood was produced in a similar way with the three contexts. For these three, percentages were very low (1.33%, and 2.63% for little information, and 1.63% for no information), since participants divided their preference between indicative and past subjunctive.

6.4 Group

6.4.1 Bilingual group

For verb type, the bilingual group was significantly different from the other groups because it was the group with the lowest percentage of past subjunctive. Given this finding, it could be suggested that the Andean group did not produce the target form as much as the other groups because they may have more variation in tense, i.e. more answers in present subjunctive. This hypothesis is discussed in the next section.

For event time, the bilingual group results yielded were significantly lower than percentages of all other groups. It can be seen that in general, whereas past subjunctive was more highly preferred by other groups, bilinguals produced around 50% of this answer type with each type of events. Just as it was shown for the verb type factor, it is possible to see that this group produced other types of answers in many cases and did not show a clear preference for the standard form.

Lastly, for the degree of knowledge factor, the bilingual group was significantly different from the most migrant group in Lima and the Mexican group. However, it was not significantly different from the least migrant group. Two different observations can be made from this analysis: first, it is clear that bilinguals preferred other types of answers⁷⁵ with all three contexts of this factor (all information, little information, and no information). Second, the lack of significance between the least migrant and the bilingual group is somewhat unexpected: although there is a large difference in percentages, the bilingual group produced results seemingly closer to those of the least migrant group rather than to the most migrant group. Potential reasons explaining this finding were discussed in the previous section.

For present subjunctive answers, the three Peruvian groups had very similar percentages and no significant differences between them according to verb type. The fact that the bilingual group did not produce a higher number of past subjunctive answers suggested taking a closer look at the present subjunctive answers produced. If high percentages of this answer type by this group were produced, an influence from Quechua as reinforcement of tense variation could be proposed. Nonetheless, this group did not have higher percentages of present subjunctive because similar percentages among the three Peruvian groups were found.

Within the event time factor, no significant differences were found among the three Peruvian groups, with similar mean percentages. This finding suggests that variation in tense is a frequent phenomenon in Peruvian Spanish in general, which makes

⁷⁵ Indicative mood mostly, as it is shown in the section for this type of answers

this set of varieties different from other Latin American dialects (such as the Mexican one).

On the other hand, when looking at the mean percentages in the bilingual group in particular, no significant effect of event time was found in the specific repeated-measures ANOVA for this group. If no significant differences were found between past and present events, I can confirm that this group produced variation in tense even with events that were only possible in the past. Thus, with the exception of the most migrant group, both the least migrant and the bilingual group showed no significant differences between the two types of events. I can state that variation in tense in Peruvian Spanish happens very frequently, so that it can also be found with events that express past.

Finally, for the degree of knowledge factor, the four groups produced very low percentages of present subjunctive answers for the three contexts of this last linguistic factor. As it was mentioned before, the main difference in the types of answers produced with this factor was found between grammatical moods (subjunctive versus indicative).

Focusing on indicative mood, according to verb type, the bilingual group was significantly different from each of the other groups (since all of the others produced lower percentages). However, within the bilingual group, the pattern was similar to other groups: the highest percentage was for lack of knowledge verbs and the lowest one, for desire verbs. Variation in mood occurred very frequently in this group for all verb types.

For event time, the results for the bilingual group were significantly different from the means of other groups, which were much lower for both event times. Then, for this second factor, it is possible to see that indicative mood was highly preferred by the bilinguals again.

For the degree of knowledge factor, the bilingual mean was not significantly different from the other percentages, meaning that all groups produced indicative mood

answers in at similar rate. Therefore, this was the only linguistic factor where the bilingual group was not significantly different from the rest of the groups.

Why indicative mood was preferred by this group must be analyzed together with conditional answers – the other grammatical mood that was also produced primarily by the bilingual group. An explanation for this is discussed at the end of the next section.

Finally, for verb type regarding answers in conditional mood, the mean percentage was significantly higher than the mean for both the most migrant and the Mexican group. On the other hand, bilinguals were not significantly different from the least migrant group in Lima, but this must be analyzed in more detail: the least migrant group had a similar percentage to the bilingual group only with lack of knowledge verbs. Thus, I can suggest that the lack of significance between the two groups was mainly because of lack of knowledge verbs (due to of the possibility of producing conditional mood to express past tense as well) (Ridruejo 1999).⁷⁶ With the other two verb types, conditional mood yielded higher percentages in the bilingual group than in the least migrant group.

For event time, means were significantly different from the means of the other groups; the rest of the groups produced lower percentages for both event times. Again, it is possible to see that answers in a grammatical mood besides subjunctive were preferred mainly by the bilingual group.

Finally, for the degree of knowledge factor, the mean percentage was not significantly different from the means of the other groups, which were also low. As it was suggested before, this was due to the fact that, for this last linguistic factor, answers were mostly divided between past subjunctive and indicative mood.

⁷⁶ Also, there was a significant interaction between verb type and group, which can explain this finding.

If indicative and conditional mood answers are taken into account, it is possible to see that the bilingual group showed a tendency to produce both types of answers with all linguistic factors. Percentages for this group were significantly higher than percentages in other groups in many cases. In other groups, indicative was mainly produced for lack of knowledge verbs (as it has been discussed already, e.g. within the least migrant and the most migrant group). However, indicative was also produced with factive-emotive verbs within bilinguals.

For Spanish that is in contact with Quechua, the choice of either indicative or subjunctive is based on an assertion continuum presented below (A.M. Escobar 2000:140 [my translation]). This continuum is similar in monolingual areas of Spanish.

Realis		Irrealis
+ Assertion		– Assertion
Indicative	Conditional	Subjunctive
<hr/>		
Reported	Uncertain	Reported
Information	Inference	Inference

Therefore, having indicative mood in the subordinate clause when the main clause has a factive-emotive verb suggests that speakers expressed that the information reported in the subordinated event could be asserted. The [+assertion] characteristics of those events can be attributed to both the context of each story and the meaning of the main verb. A factive-emotive verb expresses a comment on the event of the embedded clause. This event, according to Terrell and Hooper (1974), is presupposed to be true and can either be asserted or not. If it is associated with assertion, native speakers prefer indicative mood, whereas if it is not, subjunctive is preferred.

On the other hand, the 8% of indicative mood for desire verbs was significantly higher for the bilingual group than for any other group. Within monolingual speakers, desire verbs require subjunctive in the embedded clause since they express volition (or

imperatives), following Terrell and Hooper (1974). Thus, the percentage in the bilingual group was very different from the less than 1% yielded by every other monolingual group of the study.

Taking a deeper look at the answers of bilinguals, one can notice that 6.73% of the 8% total was produced with one specific desire verb: *desear* (“to wish”). Thus, I can consider that *desear*, contrary to *querer* (“to want”), was not considered a prototypical desire verb by the participants of this group. This might be related to the frequency of the verb; for instance, in its infinitive form, *desear* appears thirty-three times in Peruvian data of the CREA corpus, whereas *querer* appears 150 times (RAE 2013).

In addition to these possible explanations, I focused on the specific participants within the bilingual group who produced answers in grammatical moods other than subjunctive. Based on this observation, I found that answers in indicative and conditional mood were mainly produced by speakers whose proficiency level in Spanish was less dominant (intermediate) rather than more dominant (advanced).

The Spanish proficiency test administered to the bilingual group showed that 17 out of 23 participants attained the highest level of proficiency (more dominant),⁷⁷ as was expected due to the fact that the majority said that they spoke Spanish since early childhood.⁷⁸ On the other hand, 6 out of 23 participants only attained the less dominant level. This second group was mainly comprised of speakers who answered that Spanish was their second language. These two groups were also significantly different according to the one-way ANOVA run, $F(1,22) = 45.879$, $p < .05$.

Table 43 shows percentages of answers for the four types considered in this study. As we can see, the more dominant group produced higher percentages of subjunctive

⁷⁷ Results were divided following these three levels: 31-40 correct answers (advanced/more dominant), 21-30 correct answers (intermediate/less dominant), 0-20 correct answers (low).

⁷⁸ See Figure 17 in the Methodology chapter.

mood (both past and present), whereas the less dominant group produced more answers in both indicative and conditional mood.

Table 43 Number of answers for the two bilingual subgroups

	Past subjunctive	Present subjunctive	Indicative mood	Conditional mood
More dominant group (748 answers)	345 (46.12%)	116 (15.51%)	234 (31.28%)	44 (5.88%)
Less dominant group (264 answers)	92 (34.85%)	25 (9.47%)	99 (37.5%)	32 (12.12%)

In order to find whether or not these differences were statistically significant, I ran a chi-square test for the four types of answers. Given that the size of both groups was very different, a chi-square test was preferred because of its non-parametric nature. For answers in past subjunctive and present subjunctive, there was a significant association between the level of proficiency in Spanish and whether participants produced these types of answers in the 44 items of the production task, $X^2(1) = 5.933$, $p < .05$ (past subjunctive) and $X^2(1) = 10.110$, $p < .05$ (present subjunctive). This represents the fact that more dominant Spanish speakers were more likely to produce answers in past and in present subjunctive than less dominant Spanish speakers.

Given these results, it is obvious that that less-dominant-level learners produced answers that were very different from the ones produced by the monolingual groups. In other words, their production of subjunctive mood was significantly lower than the production of those groups. Factors that are relevant for explaining this finding must be explained by previous research, which has shown that the acquisition of the Spanish subjunctive is not a feature acquired in earlier stages of the process (Gesslin and Gudmestad 2008, Gudmestad 2012, Lubbers Quesada 1998).

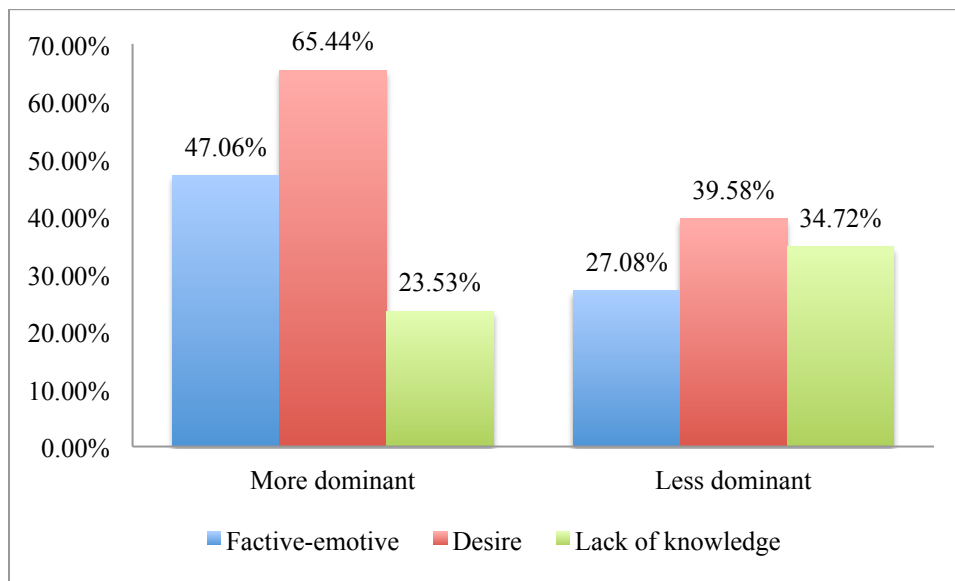
Gudmestad (2006) finds that there are some grammatical factors that have an influence on how learners select the mood of the subordinate verb. In her study, for speakers at an intermediate level, irregular forms in the main clause were the only predictor of subjunctive selection, whereas both irregular forms and volition verbs (desire verbs in my study) were a predictor for advanced learners.⁷⁹ Following this, in her 2012 study, Gudmestad says that learners do not assume that they must use subjunctive with nominal clauses since there are specific contexts where indicative is also accepted (as results in my study have also shown). However, contrary to what she found in 2006, her conclusion in this study was that the semantic category of the verb in the main clause is a good predictor for subjunctive use in the nominal clause even for intermediate speakers. Of the categories used, volition was the best predictor, followed by comment, and then uncertainty.

If results of past subjunctive answers are observed, Figure 29 shows that desire verbs were the verb type that favored past subjunctive the most, followed by factive-emotive verbs in the more dominant group, and by lack of knowledge verbs in the less dominant group. These results for the more dominant group confirm what Gudmestad (2012) found, i.e. desire (or “volition” in her study) was the verb type with highest percentages, followed by factive-emotive (or “comment” in her study), and finally lack of knowledge (similar to “uncertainty” in her study).⁸⁰ On the contrary, the less dominant group did not have the same pattern, because lack of knowledge was the verb type that was second to desire verbs with regard to the production of past subjunctive.

⁷⁹ Lubbers Quesada (1998) finds that desire verbs are a predictor too, but there is no reference to whether participants were considered intermediate or advanced learners.

⁸⁰ She refers to expressions of doubt mainly.

Figure 29 Answers in past subjunctive (two subgroups)



Thus, I ran a repeated-measures ANOVA for each group of learners to see whether there were any significant differences between verb types. For the more dominant group, verb type had a significant effect, $F(2,32) = 15.736$, $p < .05$, with significant differences between lack of knowledge and each one of the other two verb types, according to Bonferroni pairwise comparisons ($p < .05$). Therefore, the two verb types with the highest percentages favored past subjunctive in a similar way, but this was not the case for lack of knowledge verbs.

For the less dominant group, the verb type factor did not have a significant effect, which means that the three types did not yield results that were significantly different from one another. Given these findings, I can say that participants in this group did not produce past subjunctive answers based on a particular verb type. It is possible that they had not yet internalized how the semantic category of the verb in the main clause can make them produce a specific grammatical mood. It can also be hypothesized that other constraints are at stake, which need further investigation.

To this, I can add that subjunctive acquires lexical and semantic features as learners reach the advanced/more dominant level. In other words, what guides native

speakers to choose subjunctive mood eventually becomes relevant for learners as well (Collentine 2010, Gudmestad 2012).

Subjunctive is one of the most difficult grammatical structures to be acquired by learners of Spanish due to its particular discourse-pragmatic features. For instance, there are processes that let the main clause modality have an influence on the mood selection of the subordinate clause (Collentine 2010). Those pragmatic rules that speakers follow to produce subjunctive mood must be related to certain linguistic interfaces, such as interfaces between syntax and discourse-pragmatic knowledge (Lubbers Quesada 1998, Montrul 2008). In her study, Montrul (2008) states that incomplete acquisition of the subjunctive can be found in heritage speakers of Spanish – a fact that Collentine (2010) considers a starting point to make assumptions about second language learners: “if the subjunctive’s place in one’s linguistic competence is vulnerable even for heritage native speakers, one should not be surprised that it is especially difficult for the subjunctive to gain a foothold in the L2” (42-43).

In summary, it is the subgroup of less-dominant Spanish speakers that produced a significant amount of answers in different grammatical moods within the bilingual group. They produced these different answers due to the fact that subjunctive is a grammatical feature acquired in later, more advanced stages of language acquisition. This is also related to the fact that participants in the less-dominant group answered that they learned Spanish as a second language around the age they started going to school. On the other hand, the more dominant subgroup produced answers that were more similar to the ones produced by the monolingual groups (least migrant and most migrant), including past subjunctive and present subjunctive.

6.4.2 Most migrant group in Lima

For verb type, the most migrant group had the highest percentage of past subjunctive within the three Peruvian groups, which suggests that participants in this group followed the standard form in most cases.

For event time, percentages were significantly different from both the bilingual and the Mexican group. Compared to the former, the most migrant group yielded higher percentages, whereas the least migrant group had lower numbers in comparison to the latter. Thus, just as what was found for the least migrant group, this second group from Lima is located in a liminal position, in terms of percentages. Moreover, since it was not significantly different from the least migrant group, I can say that both groups in Lima preferred past subjunctive with past events, although the percentage for present events was high as well.

Finally, with regard to the analysis of the degree of knowledge, the most migrant group was significantly different from the bilingual group, which had a much lower mean. Again, this was due to the nature of the bilingual group, which was discussed in the previous section (see Section 6.4.1).

On the other hand, focusing on present subjunctive for verb type, the three Peruvian groups produced variation in tense in a similar way, which showed that variation in tense is more frequent in Peruvian Spanish than in the Mexican variety. First, the three Peruvian groups produced less answers in past subjunctive (the target standard form) than the Mexican one. Moreover, when comparing the percentages of answers in present subjunctive, the same pattern arises. In addition to this, results for present subjunctive items in the acceptability judgment task⁸¹ showed that there was a significant effect of verb type, but not of group. Thus, all Peruvian groups accepted present subjunctive in a similar way, which does not suggest that reinforcement from contact with Quechua can be found. If there had been one, the bilingual group rates would have been significantly higher than the other two groups.

For event time, I can still confirm that all Peruvian groups performed in a similar way. Event time was a significant factor in general, but it was also significant for the most migrant group according to the repeated-measures ANOVA run as a post-test: $F(1,26) = 11.838$, $p < .05$. Therefore, contrary to what was found for the least migrant

⁸¹ Presented in Table 38 in the Results chapter

group, both past and present events were considered in a different way among this second group – meaning that variation in tense is not that frequent for these participants.

Finally, for degree of knowledge, in general, all groups produced only a few answers in present subjunctive with this third factor because the majority of answers were produced with either past subjunctive or indicative. As it was mentioned before, the degree of knowledge factor is relevant to see how much variation in mood is present in the four groups.

Moreover, focusing on indicative mood for verb type, most of the indicative mood answers were produced with lack of knowledge verbs, similar to what was found for the least migrant group. Given these results, indicative mood answers were preferred mainly with lack of knowledge verbs – a finding that is related to the degree of knowledge factor.

For event time, the most migrant group was significantly different from the bilingual group, due to the higher percentages yielded by this last group. The higher percentage in past events must be related to the fact that most verbal forms in indicative were in the past tense.

Finally, for degree of knowledge, all groups produced indicative answers in a similar way regardless of the context (all information, little information, no information). The most migrant group had the highest amount of indicative with little information and the lowest, with no information contexts.

With regard to conditional mood answers, for verb type, the very low percentage in the most migrant group was expected, because conditional mood was not very probable as an answer type. For event time, percentages were significantly different from the means of the bilingual group, which were significantly different from all other groups. Finally, for degree of knowledge, there was not a high preference for conditional mood in general.

6.4.3 Least migrant group in Lima

With regard to past subjunctive (the standard form), the statistical analysis showed no interaction between verb type and group, but significant differences between groups. The least migrant group in Lima was significantly different from both the Mexican and the bilingual group. Also, the statistical analysis confirmed that the least migrant group—together with the most migrant group—had higher percentages of past subjunctive than the Andean Spanish group, which suggests that the preference for the target form used in standard Spanish (past subjunctive) is found in the monolingual groups from Lima rather than in the bilingual group. However, this preference is not as frequent as in the Mexican group because, for this group, percentages for past subjunctive were higher. Thus, it is possible to see that the standard form is not as commonly produced in Peruvian varieties as in other dialects of Spanish.

With regard to event time, there were no significant differences between this group and the other three. On the other hand, although there was a main effect of event time regardless of group, no interaction was found. So, it is necessary to highlight that the least migrant group produced similar percentages of past subjunctive for both event times, which means that participants in this group chose this answer type even with present events. Given these results, it is necessary to focus on present subjunctive answers to see whether there were significant differences.

With regard to the degree of knowledge factor, the group factor had a significant effect on the statistical analysis, but the least migrant group was not significantly different from any of the other groups. Again, this first group is located in between the two groups (Mexicans and bilinguals) that were most different in terms of percentages. This finding, which was observed in the first two factors as well, suggests that there is a continuum of varieties with regard to how strict they are in terms of using the standard form: the Mexican group is the strictest one, whereas the bilingual group is on the other side of the continuum and the least migrant group in Lima is in the middle.

On the other hand, when looking at present subjunctive answers, results showed that variation in tense (present subjunctive) is more frequent in Peruvian Spanish than in the Mexican variety according to verb type and there were similar percentages among the three Peruvian groups. In addition to those results, when both verb type⁸² and event time were considered, there was a significant effect of group, but pairwise comparisons showed that this effect was caused by the different percentages yielded by the Mexican group, which produced lower percentages of present subjunctive.

If focusing only on the event time factor, the statistical analysis showed that there was a significant effect. However, percentages showed that the three groups who speak Peruvian Spanish did produce present subjunctive with past events more than the comparison group (the Mexican variety).⁸³ Moreover, I ran a repeated-measure ANOVA that was specific to each group in order to confirm whether the main effect according to time event was present in all of them. For the least migrant group, the statistical analysis showed that there was no significant difference, $F(1,23) = 3.755$, $p > .05$. Therefore, both past and present events were considered similarly in this group. This is relevant for seeing how far tense has become varied in Peruvian Spanish: it is produced even in events that are only possible in the past.

In summary, there were no significant differences between the three Peruvian groups either in the production task or in the acceptability judgment task. Moreover, percentages for present subjunctive were higher in this first group of participants than in both the most migrant and the bilingual group (considering verb type and event time). Given these results, it is not possible to assume variation in tense as being caused by reinforcement from Quechua. Because there was no significant influence from contact with this language, answers for the production task in Quechua are not considered in the analysis.

⁸² Only factive-emotive and desire verbs

⁸³ See Table 27 in the Results chapter.

As a consequence of this finding, variation in tense must be seen as a Spanish-internal phenomenon, which is more frequent in some dialects (Bolivian, Paraguayan, Ecuadorian, Uruguayan, and Peruvian) rather than in others (Mexican, Cuban, Guatemalan, Puerto Rican, etc.), following Sessarego (2010). In the same direction as Sessarego, my findings show that there is more variation in tense in the Peruvian varieties than in the Mexican one. In his study, Peruvian Spanish ranked in the top five countries where present subjunctive is produced the most, with 39%. On the contrary, Mexican Spanish, with 24% of answers in present subjunctive, was located in the bottom half of the countries list. Thus, I can confirm that, overall, Peruvian varieties are one more highly varied in terms of tense in nominal clauses. This difference must be taken into account for future studies that focus on this same type of variation because I can assume that the production of present subjunctive in Peruvian Spanish is a change that is currently in progress. For instance, there could be no significant differences between past and present events in all dialects in future development stages of the variation phenomenon.

Finally, within the degree of knowledge factor, there were no significant effects of group or of degree of knowledge. Thus, all groups chose present subjunctive in a similar way, although the three Peruvian groups produced higher percentages than the Mexican one. This suggests that results for this factor should be linked to variation in mood rather than to variation in tense.

For indicative mood, within the verb type factor, the least migrant group performed similarly to the other group from Lima and the Mexican one, with percentages that were much lower than the percentage for the bilingual group. Focusing only on the least migrant group, it is clear that most of the answers in indicative mood were produced with lack of knowledge verbs and some with factive-emotive verbs. Reasons for these findings were presented in the verb type section of this chapter.

For the event time factor, the least migrant group had more answers in indicative mood with past events; as it was mentioned in the Results chapter, this must be due to the fact that most verbal forms in indicative were in the past tense. There was a significant

effect by group, but it was not due to this group's percentages, but because the bilingual group had higher percentages.

Lastly, with the degree of knowledge factor, all four groups produced indicative mood considering the same information for all three contexts in this factor. For instance, in this least migrant group, the highest percentage for indicative mood is observed in little information contexts, whereas the lowest one is for no-information contexts and all-information contexts located in between. This pattern was found in the other three groups as well, as was already discussed in the degree of knowledge factor section of this chapter (see Section 6.3).

Finally, focusing on conditional mood, this group was not significantly different from the rest of the groups in terms of verb type because it yielded percentages in the middle of the other groups. As it was already discussed in the verb type section of this chapter (see Section 6.1), conditional mood was not a preferred type of answers, at least for the least migrant group. For event time, the least migrant group produced answers in conditional mood at a significantly lower rate than the bilingual group. This is related to the characteristics of the bilingual group, which were discussed in the section of this group in this chapter (see Section 6.4.1). Finally, in the degree of knowledge factor, the least migrant mean was not significantly different from any of the other percentages in the other groups. An explanation of these similar results for all groups is related to the characteristics of this last linguistic factor, which were discussed in a previous section.

There was an additional finding related to the comparison between the three Peruvian groups. In some cases, there were significant differences between the most migrant and the bilingual group, but not between the least migrant and the bilingual group. In fact, percentages of answers for past subjunctive showed that, in many cases, the least migrant, rather than the most migrant group, was closer to the bilingual group. The most migrant group, rather surprisingly, was closer to the Mexican group (refer to Tables 22, 26, and 31). These results are different from the assumption that, within the continuum of Peruvian varieties, the least migrant group would be second to the Mexican

group followed by the most migrant group, and then by the bilinguals in terms of percentages.

Given these findings, the least migrant group shows more similarity to the bilingual group than the most migrant group, who produced answers closer to the Mexican group (which is closer to the standard). Thus, it is necessary to find reasons for these different findings in the groups' social backgrounds. In the Methodology chapter of this study, the description of each group showed that participants of both groups in Lima (most migrant and least migrant) do not stay in their living area all the time; they do some recreational activities in other areas of the city. Most of them were also described as having very open social networks, which suggests that they frequently interact with members of different areas and backgrounds (intense social contact). Moreover, a chi-square test was run in order to compare subgroups of individuals with open networks (individuals in the least migrant group versus individuals in the most migrant group); results showed no significant differences between them.

The same results were obtained for the two subgroups of individuals with medium social networks. This suggests that individuals in both groups share similar characteristics with regard to their social activities; for instance, they tend to do some of their recreational activities outside of their area and are in constant interaction with different groups in the city. Thus, this constant interaction must be a factor for exchanging linguistic features. Cheshire et al. (2008) describe that people with multi-ethnic friendship groups, in particular young people, are exposed to intense dialect and language contact in big urban areas like London. In their words, "membership of a multi-ethnic friendship group probably allows a speaker to use language features associated with a particular social or ethnic group to which he/she does not belong" (19).

In addition to this, it was mentioned that there were particular individuals within each group from Lima who shared characteristics with the members of the opposite group, e.g. people who had neighbors that are Andean migrants in the least migrant group, parents who are from Lima in the most migrant group, etc. As a consequence of

these social characteristics, it must be pointed out that the least migrants linguistic performance in my study must have had an influence from Andean Spanish, due to contact with migrants in their families or neighborhoods. In the same sense, the reason why the most migrant group had a performance closer to the Mexican group must be found in their contact with people who were born and raised in Lima, and who mostly speak non-Andean Spanish.

In this last case in particular, it is possible to see that those participants who reported having families from Lima produced answers that were different from the rest of the most migrant group. For example, I examined the answers of three participants: two answered that their parents were from Lima and one said that her family was from the northern coast of Peru (non-Andean region). Of the 132 answers produced by these three participants, 87 were past subjunctive forms – that is, 65.91%. Past subjunctive was produced even with present events.

In addition to these reasons, it must be highlighted that there were no significant differences between the most migrant and the least migrant group in any of the factors analyzed. Because of this, I can state that both groups in Lima produced similar results although they did not perform exactly as expected. Again, results and analyses of my study confirm that participants in the two groups shared linguistic characteristics.

6.4.4 Mexican group

For verb type, past subjunctive results of the Mexican group were not as significantly different as the bilingual group results (significantly different from all other groups), but still had significant differences in comparison to two of the three Peruvian Spanish groups – the bilingual and the least migrant group. The Mexican group has the highest percentages of past subjunctive answers (whereas percentages for other groups show that they more often produced other tenses or moods). This finding lets us confirm that the Mexican dialect produces the standard form more frequently than the varieties of Peruvian Spanish included in the study.

For event time, the Mexican group was significantly different from each one of the other groups, with much lower means. Thus, it is possible to see that Mexican Spanish speakers produced more past subjunctive answers than any other group, meaning that variation in general was more frequent in the Peruvian Spanish groups. Finally, for the degree of knowledge factor, the Mexican group was significantly different from only one group: the bilingual group. This means that all monolingual groups in the study performed in a similar way with regard to this last linguistic factor.

With regard to present subjunctive, significant differences were found between the Mexican group and each other Peruvian group with respect to the production of present subjunctive with the three verb types included in the study. Therefore, given the results of this type of answer and the results of past subjunctive answers, I can confirm that there is an evident difference between Peruvian Spanish in general and Mexican Spanish; whereas the former produces variation in tense more frequently in any of the three verb types,⁸⁴ the latter prefers the standard form (past subjunctive) in the same contexts. As a consequence, it is possible to see that the phenomenon has become very prominent in Peruvian dialects.

For event time, means in the Mexican group were significantly different from the means of all other groups, which were much higher. Moreover, both event times were significantly different in the Mexican group, $F(1,18) = 4.569$, $p < .05$. Thus, for this last group, past events were stricter in the sense that variation in tense was not produced as much as with present events. Therefore, again, with this second factor, it is confirmed that the Mexican group does not allow tense variation in the same way that Peruvian Spanish does. Within the three Peruvian groups, two of them did not have significant differences between event times, as it was discussed already. Finally, for degree of knowledge, there were no significant differences between the Mexican group and any other groups, which had low percentages too. Then, it is possible to see that present subjunctive answers were not preferred by any group.

⁸⁴ Considering that there was no significant interaction between verb type and group, according to the statistical analysis

Focusing on indicative mood, the Mexican mean was significantly different from the bilingual group for verb type, but not from the other Peruvian groups. With regard to event time, means were significantly different from only one group: the bilingual group. This was due to the fact that bilinguals produced higher percentages in both events, because of particular characteristics of those speakers. Lastly, for the degree of knowledge factor (since there were no significant differences between groups), it is possible to see that all four groups considered the three contexts of this last factor in a similar way. What this suggests is that speakers of all groups decided to produce indicative mood based on the information they have in order to be able to make a commitment to the truth value of the events.

Finally, with respect to verb type and answers in conditional mood, the Mexican group produced results similar to the other monolingual groups, which confirms that conditional mood was not considered a possible type of answer, just as we saw in the case of the Peruvian groups. In the case of event time, results confirm that all monolingual groups in my study did not choose conditional mood as a common answer for either past or present events. In fact, it was the bilingual group that most often produced this type of answer. Moreover, with the degree of knowledge factor, the group variable was not significant and there was no significant interaction between factors. All groups had very low percentages for all three contexts within the degree of knowledge factor. For this reason, it is possible to notice again that the significant percentages in the bilingual group were due to other verb types and not due to lack of knowledge verbs.

In summary, it can be confirmed that variation in tense was high with desire verbs, contrary to what Suñer and Padilla-Rivera's continuum would predict. It was also high with present events, which must be related to the time when these events take place. The degree of knowledge factor, on the other hand, did not turn out to be relevant, since all groups produced low (and not significantly different) percentages of present subjunctive.

If focusing on differences between groups, it is possible to see that the three Peruvian groups were significantly different from the Mexican group in the production of present subjunctive with all three verb types. Moreover, two of the three Peruvian groups did not have a significant difference between past and present events, suggesting that variation in tense is so frequent that it is even applied to past events. Only the most migrant group had a significant difference for the event time factor, but even in this case, their percentages were significantly higher than the percentages of the Mexican group. Regarding the degree of knowledge factor, as it was mentioned in the previous paragraph, there was no significant difference between groups.

In general, as it was suggested throughout this Discussion chapter, variation in tense was similar among Peruvian groups and even had lower percentages in the bilingual group. As a consequence, I can state that the phenomenon has become more prominent in Peruvian Spanish in comparison to other Latin American dialects, such as Mexican Spanish. At the same time, due to the lower percentages of bilinguals, it is not possible to say that this type of variation is reinforced by the influence of Quechua. Given these two findings (and alluded to in Section 6.4.3), variation in tense must be considered a Spanish-internal phenomenon that is currently in progress. For that reason, some dialects show a higher frequency than others.

On the other hand, when focusing on variation in mood, verb types showed results that are not different from what happens in standard Spanish: more non-subjunctive answers were produced with lack of knowledge, followed by factive-emotive verbs, and then desire verbs. Also, variation in mood was more frequent with events in the past than in the present, which was explained by the time when these types of events take place. With respect to degree of knowledge, I confirmed the expected finding that contexts where all information was given had more indicative mood than contexts with no information. However, percentages of indicative mood were much higher with little information contexts. As it was explained, participants must have considered that, even when they were given only some details of information, that was enough for them to

make a commitment to the truth value of the event and thus, produce indicative instead of subjunctive.

Finally, the bilingual group was significantly different from the rest in terms of variation in mood. This group produced higher percentages with all verb types and both event times. The only factor where they were not significantly different was degree of knowledge. On the other hand, the Mexican group performed in a similar way as the two monolingual groups of Peruvian Spanish. Reasons to explain why bilinguals performed so differently were attributed to the two different levels found within the group. While more dominant speakers produced answers that were native-like (e.g. past and present subjunctive), less dominant speakers had lower numbers for subjunctive and higher means for both indicative and conditional moods. This distinction must be linked to the different stages in the process of acquisition of Spanish a second language, since subjunctive has syntactic and pragmatic features that are acquired later in the process.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

The conclusion chapter has three main sections. In the first one, I evaluate the research questions proposed for the study in terms of how the results answered each question. For each of the questions, I focus on what predictions were made in order to see if they were confirmed. In the second section, I present conclusions about the two types of variation studied and how my results can be interpreted for language and dialect contact, in addition to implications of my study for contact linguistics and second language acquisition. Finally, the third section presents the limitations of the study and future research that can be carried out taking my results as a starting point.

7.1 Evaluation of research questions and predictions

(1) Is variation in tense and/or mood more frequent in Peruvian varieties of Spanish than in other varieties of Spanish (e.g. Mexican Spanish)?

- Prediction confirmed: Groups that speak varieties of Peruvian Spanish produced less answers in past subjunctive than the Mexican Spanish group.

Based on the statistical analysis that considered verb type and event time, it is possible to see that this prediction was confirmed. The Mexican Spanish speakers produced more past subjunctive answers than any other group, which suggested that the Peruvian Spanish groups had more frequent variation (of either tense or mood). In this first analysis, the Mexican group was significantly different from all Peruvian groups. In addition to that, if the third verb type (lack of knowledge verbs) is added to the analysis, statistics showed that the Mexican group still had significant differences with two of the three Peruvian Spanish groups – the bilingual and the least migrant group. The Mexican group had the highest percentages of past subjunctive answers (whereas percentages for other groups show that they produced other tenses or moods), so I can still confirm my prediction.

Thus, if past subjunctive—the standard form—was significantly higher in the Mexican than in the Peruvian groups, it is necessary to consider how this result can suggest that Peruvian Spanish has a higher frequency of variation. Moreover, since there was no significant difference between the Mexican and the most migrant group when the three verb types were considered, it is necessary to see whether I can confirm that variation in tense was significantly different when those groups were compared. Percentages for present subjunctive answers showed that variation in tense is more frequent in Peruvian Spanish than in the Mexican variety: all three Peruvian groups produced present subjunctive in a significantly higher frequency.

However, if the degree of knowledge factor is taken into account, the Mexican group was only significantly different from the bilingual group and not from the other monolinguals (with respect to the production of present subjunctive). This result suggested two different findings: first, the bilingual group performed very differently in many cases due to the characteristics of those speakers, as it was analyzed in the Discussion chapter. Second, all monolingual groups (from Peru and Mexico) performed similarly because variation in tense was not very relevant in this last factor – all groups had low percentages of present subjunctive.⁸⁵ Within the degree of knowledge factor, it was variation in mood that turned out to be the most relevant type of variation.

These findings show that there is more variation in tense in the Peruvian varieties, similar to what Sessarego found in 2010; while Peruvian Spanish ranked in the top five countries where present subjunctive is produced the most (39%), Mexican Spanish was in the bottom half of the list (24%). Thus, I can confirm that in Peruvian varieties, variation in tense is more frequent than in other varieties of Spanish, i.e. in Mexican Spanish.

⁸⁵ Although there were no significant differences between all three monolingual groups, it must be highlighted that the Mexican group had 0% of present subjunctive answers in all three contexts of this last linguistic factor. The Peruvian monolingual groups, on the other hand, produced this type of answer with all contexts, in particular with no information, with means of 9% (see Table 32 in the Results chapter).

With respect to variation in mood, significant differences were found regarding two of the three linguistic factors (verb type and event time), but they were not between the Mexican group and all Peruvian groups. In general, the significant effect of group in these analyses was due to the higher percentages of both indicative and conditional mood of the bilingual group. It must be specified that this higher frequency was found in the variety of Spanish spoken by the bilinguals living in the Andean region. Reasons to explain this finding are related to the process of acquisition of Spanish as a second language. Therefore, we cannot say that overall, variation in mood was more frequent in Peruvian than in Mexican Spanish.

(2) Within varieties of Peruvian Spanish, is variation in tense and/or mood more frequent in Andean varieties than in non-Andean varieties?

- Prediction confirmed: There were less answers in past subjunctive in the Andean group than in the other two groups of Peruvian Spanish.

In general, according to the statistical analyses, the bilingual group had lower percentages of past subjunctive than the other two groups of Peruvian Spanish. Thus, this prediction was confirmed. The lower percentage of past subjunctive answers made the bilingual group significantly different when comparing the three Peruvian groups.

Given this finding, I can confirm that bilingual speakers living in the Andean region do not follow the standard form as frequently as the other Peruvian groups. Then, it could be suggested that speakers in that group might produce variation in tense (i.e. answers in present subjunctive) more than the monolingual groups of the non-Andean region. Another possibility is that they might produce variation in mood more frequently. The following two predictions focus on each one of these possibilities.

- Prediction not confirmed: The bilingual group will produce more present subjunctive answers than the two monolingual groups from Lima.

This prediction was not confirmed because of similar percentages among the three Peruvian groups. No significant differences for these three groups (neither in the production task nor in the acceptability judgment task) were found. Moreover, when comparing percentages, means of the bilingual group were not necessarily higher than the other two Peruvian groups regarding any of the three linguistic factors. Thus, it is not possible to assume that variation in tense in Peruvian varieties of Spanish is high because of reinforcement from Quechua. As a consequence, it is necessary to consider that the phenomenon is present in these three varieties because of an internal characteristic of Spanish. Regardless of the grammatical forms they used in the Quechua production task, results show they did not prefer present subjunctive at a significantly higher rate than the monolinguals from the non-Andean region.

As it was mentioned, variation in tense must be seen as a Spanish-internal phenomenon, which is more frequent in some dialects (Bolivian, Paraguayan, Ecuadorian, Uruguayan, and Peruvian) rather than in others (Mexican, Cuban, Guatemalan, Puerto Rican, etc.), following Sessarego (2010).

- Prediction confirmed: Variation in mood was more frequent in the Andean group than in the two non-Andean groups from Peru.

It was confirmed that, again, the bilingual group was significantly different from the other groups (in fact, it was significantly different from all other groups). This result was found for both indicative and conditional mood answers with all linguistic factors, except for degree of knowledge (for this last factor, there were no significant differences between groups). Also, the least migrant group was not significantly different from the bilingual group in terms of producing conditional mood answers (when focusing on verb type). However, a detailed analysis showed that this was due to their similar percentages for lack of knowledge verbs⁸⁶ and not with other verb types. Overall, the bilingual group was the one that produced more answers that were not past subjunctive forms.

⁸⁶ Also, there was a significant interaction between verb type and group (see Results chapter).

Therefore, variation in tense was not found to be as frequent as variation in mood for the bilingual group. This group showed the highest percentages of answers in indicative and conditional moods within all linguistic factors. Furthermore, bilingual participants produced answers that can be considered ungrammatical by monolingual native speakers (e.g. conditional mood in the subordinate clause with a desire verb in the main clause:⁸⁷ *Quería que vendrías*, “I wanted you to come”). Those results made the bilingual group significantly different in almost all cases, as it was mentioned before.

In order to find possible explanations for these significant differences, I focused on the bilingual group to identify participants who produced answers in grammatical moods other than subjunctive. As it was presented in the Discussion chapter, I found that significant differences in mood production were due to a significant distinction between their levels of Spanish proficiency. Participants who were rated as intermediate/less-dominant learners for the Spanish proficiency test (6 out of 23) were the ones who produced non-subjunctive mood the most. On the contrary, the advanced/more-dominant level subgroup (17 out of 23) produced more answers in subjunctive mood (in either past or present).

Therefore, if the production of subjunctive mood of less-dominant learners was significantly lower than the production of other groups (the more-dominant learners and the monolinguals), acquisition factors must be considered. Previous research has shown that Spanish subjunctive is not a feature acquired in earlier stages of the process, but developed through later stages. For instance, for the more-dominant subgroup, verb type had a significant effect, with significant differences between lack of knowledge and the other two types. Therefore, desire and factive-emotive verbs had the highest percentages of and favored past subjunctive in a similar way, but this was not the case for lack of knowledge verbs. On the contrary, for the less-dominant subgroup, the verb type factor did not have a significant effect. It is possible to say, then, that they had not yet taken into consideration what linguistic factors can work as predictors of subjunctive. Thus, less-

⁸⁷ Monolingual groups had a mean of less than 2% in these cases, whereas the bilinguals had a mean of almost 10% (see Table 24 in the results chapter).

dominant learners have not acquired features that can help them in their mood choice yet; for that reason, their performance was not native-like.

Given these findings, it is possible to see that variation in mood was more frequent in the Andean group than in the other Peruvian groups because of the different levels of Spanish proficiency within the group. This also confirms what previous research has suggested about Quechua-Spanish bilinguals: that there is a preference for indicative rather than subjunctive mood.⁸⁸ Previous literature does not make reference to the level of proficiency of those speakers, but in my study, I can state that this is true for bilinguals who are less dominant in characteristics of the standard variety of Spanish.

In conclusion, the second research question has two different answers: variation in tense was not more frequent in the Andean group, but variation in mood was. I argued that variation in tense must not be thought as a phenomenon reinforced by Quechua for that reason. Variation in mood, on the other hand, was influenced by the fact that all speakers in that group were bilinguals, since this second type of variation is a result of the process of acquisition of Spanish as a second language.

(3) Does variation in tense take place in subordinate clauses that express past events?

- Prediction confirmed: In Peruvian Spanish varieties, variation in tense (i.e. answers in present subjunctive) was frequent not only in present events, but also in past events.

This prediction was confirmed for two of the three Peruvian groups. It was found that past and present events given to the Peruvian Spanish groups were treated mostly in a similar way. In the general analysis (without focusing on statistical analyses of a specific group), present subjunctive was produced in both event types, but the difference between them was significant. However, percentages showed that those three groups did produce present subjunctive with past events more than the non-Peruvian group (i.e. speakers of the Mexican variety). For that reason, separate statistical analyses were run

⁸⁸ See Literature Review chapter.

for each group, because analyses within each group can generate specific results that could otherwise be missed by the general analysis. Results showed that there were no significant differences for least migrant and bilingual groups.

The only case where a significant difference was found (apart from the Mexican group) was the most migrant group. The reason for this was that the percentage of present subjunctive in this group with factive-emotive verbs was lower than for the other Peruvian groups, although that percentage was still higher than for the Mexican group.⁸⁹ This was an unexpected finding, because it goes against the proposal that the performance of the three Peruvian groups would confirm the continuum: the least migrant group would be closer to the Mexican group (and to the standard norm), whereas the bilinguals would be on the opposite extreme, with the most migrant group between the least migrant group and the bilinguals.

Why the most migrant group was closer to the Mexican group in this factor must be explained in terms of the social factors of that first group. In the Discussion chapter, I proposed that the fact that there were many individuals with open social networks in this group played a role in results. They are in permanent contact with other groups and other varieties, and they also do activities in other areas. Thus, a very intense dialect contact taking place among this group and others in the city can be expected.

Moreover, the least migrant group members had open social networks too. As a result, I can expect to find intense contact between people that could belong to these two groups. An additional finding must be taken in account: there were no significant differences between the two groups in Lima in any of the linguistic factors studied. Based on this result, it is necessary to consider that, even though the most migrant group differentiated past and present events when producing present subjunctive, it could potentially lose that significant distinction in the future due to their permanent contact with other groups in the city. Therefore, the analysis of the participants' social networks was a helpful tool to see that the two non-Andean groups from Peru had some influence

⁸⁹ Refer to Table 38 in the Results chapter.

from each other; the fact that some individuals in both groups do activities and come in contact with people in other areas of the city suggests that their linguistic contact is highly intense.

In summary, I can confirm that variation in tense does take place in subordinate clauses that express past events. This is true for Peruvian groups in general, confirmed by the higher percentages that all three groups produced when compared to the Mexican group. Moreover, it was confirmed by the statistical analyses at least for two of the three Peruvian groups. Therefore, present subjunctive is produced at a higher rate in Peruvian Spanish varieties, even in contexts (i.e. past events) where it is not accepted according to the standard norm.

(4) Is variation in tense similarly present in sentences with factive-emotive, desire, and lack of knowledge verbs in the main clause?

- Prediction partially confirmed: Variation in tense is so frequent in Peruvian Spanish varieties that results showed that the three verb types accepted answers in present subjunctive.

This prediction was partially confirmed because the results showed that there were more answers in past subjunctive with desire verbs than with factive-emotive verbs, which follows Suñer and Padilla-Rivera's classification, but that there were also answers in present subjunctive for all verb types. Within this type of answers, all groups of Peruvian Spanish produced higher percentages than the fourth group (speakers of the Mexican variety).

If results for verb types are compared, desire verbs had a higher percentage of present subjunctive forms than factive-emotive verbs. According to Suñer and Padilla-Rivera's classification, results should show the opposite is true, given that factive-emotive verbs are less strict in terms of accepting variation in tense. Then, I can attribute the actual results to two different reasons: first, desire verbs had higher percentages in the

three Peruvian groups⁹⁰ because variation in tense is very much present in these varieties, as statistical analyses showed when all groups of participants were compared.⁹¹ Second, participants decided to use other grammatical moods with factive-emotive verbs, which is why tense variation was not as high as in desire verbs. For example, within Peruvian groups, indicative mood was produced between 8% and 12% in monolinguals and more than 40% in bilinguals.

On the other hand, if focusing on Suñer and Padilla-Rivera's classification for the comparison between desire and lack of knowledge verbs, similar results would be expected because both verb types are considered the strictest (i.e. they do not accept present subjunctive answers). With respect to the Peruvian groups, it is possible to find present subjunctive with this last verb type as well, although in lower percentages (between 6% and 8%) than with desire verbs. This is due to the fact that answers for lack of knowledge verbs were divided between two grammatical moods – indicative and subjunctive. It is possible to see that, overall, subjunctive mood answers add up to 50% of the answers with lack of knowledge verbs; the other 50% were mainly answers in indicative mood. As it was analyzed in the Discussion chapter, this division of answers suggests taking a look at how participants took the contexts they were given into consideration. Depending on how much detailed information they thought they know about the event, they chose between indicative and subjunctive (by expressing if they were making a commitment to the truth value of the event or not). This is also discussed in the last research question, which focuses on the last linguistic factor – the degree of knowledge of the speaker.

For answers in subjunctive, the majority of them were in past tense, even for Peruvian groups. The Peruvian varieties of Spanish included in the study produced present subjunctive even with desire verbs, one of the strictest types, but less with lack of knowledge verbs, the other strictest type. Therefore, although present subjunctive was produced in these groups with all three verb types, it was preferred more with desire

⁹⁰ For instance, refer to Table 38 in the Results chapter.

⁹¹ Results related to the first research question.

verbs in particular and less with lack of knowledge verbs. For this reason, I can confirm that variation in tense is present in all verb types in Peruvian Spanish, although in different ways for the three verb types.

(5) Is variation in mood similarly present in sentences with factive-emotive, desire, and lack of knowledge verbs in the main clause?

- Prediction confirmed: Answers in a grammatical mood other than subjunctive were fewer for desire verbs than for factive-emotive verbs.

This prediction was confirmed. For instance, regarding indicative mood, desire verbs did not have as many answers as factive-emotive verbs did. As it was mentioned before, participants produced other grammatical moods—and indicative mood in particular—with factive-emotive verbs. This prediction was based on the fact that the alternation between indicative and subjunctive with factive-emotive verbs is very common among native speakers, regardless of the dialect.⁹²

The same type of alternation is not possible in the case of desire verbs. In other words, indicative mood is considered to be ungrammatical by native speakers (see Section 1.2 in the Literature Review chapter). Nevertheless, there were some cases in my results,⁹³ but mainly within the bilingual group; therefore, this group's results reflect an influence from the fact that all participants are not considered monolingual native speakers of Spanish.

With regard to conditional mood, very low percentages were found in general, except for the bilingual group again (which had very specific characteristics due to their bilingual situation, as was previously discussed). Thus, in the three monolingual groups, percentages for both factive-emotive and desire verbs were very low (even 0% in the Mexican group).

⁹² See literature review chapter.

⁹³ Refer to Table 24 in the Results chapter.

In summary, I can confirm that other grammatical moods had lower percentages with desire rather than with factive-emotive verbs, particularly indicative mood answers. Other differences were specifically found in the bilingual group because of characteristics in their process of acquisition of Spanish as a second language, which were presented in the Discussion chapter.

- Prediction confirmed: Variation in mood was also found with lack of knowledge verbs due to the specific contexts participants are given.

This prediction was confirmed. As it was mentioned before, present subjunctive was not a frequent answer with lack of knowledge verbs. Within subjunctive mood, participants in all groups preferred to use past tense. However, this was around half of the total amount of answers; the other half were mostly answers in indicative mood. Therefore, variation in mood was very frequent with the last type of verb included in the study.

With respect to differences between groups, it was the bilingual group that produced the highest amount of indicative mood (more than 60%) and the lowest amount of past subjunctive (26%). Nonetheless, although this variation can be thought in terms of their bilingualism, each one of the monolingual groups shows around 40% for indicative mood answers too. Thus, I can confirm that variation in mood was very frequent with lack of knowledge verbs, which is directly related to the third linguistic factor – degree of knowledge.

In conclusion, it is possible to state that variation in mood was present in all verb types, but it has to be considered together with other variables of the study: the group of participants (since bilinguals preferred non-subjunctive mood with all verb types) and the degree of knowledge of the speaker (in the case of lack of knowledge verbs).

(6) Is variation in mood based on the degree of knowledge of the speaker?

- Prediction confirmed: More indicative mood answers were produced for all-information contexts (with lack of knowledge verbs).
- Prediction confirmed: Less indicative mood answers (and more subjunctive) were produced for no-information contexts (with lack of knowledge verbs).

The first prediction was confirmed. The almost 50% of answers in indicative mood that was mentioned for lack of knowledge verbs were mostly produced with all-information and little information contexts. For example, the difference between little information contexts and no-information contexts was significant, since the first type of contexts had higher percentages than the second one. With regard to all-information contexts, where I expected even higher percentages of indicative, the difference was almost significant when compared to the no-information contexts. Still, I can confirm that participants preferred indicative rather than subjunctive mood (or conditional) when they were given more details about the event, i.e. when they considered it to be possible to make a commitment to the truth value of the event because they knew all the relevant information.

Moreover, the second prediction was also confirmed. With no-information contexts, participants preferred to produce more answers with subjunctive (in past tense) than with indicative mood. Percentages in this type of contexts were significantly higher than in little information contexts. This confirms that, when speakers do not consider themselves to have enough information about the event, they prefer to express a doubt about the truth value of the event.

However, when no-information and all-information contexts were compared, no significant differences were found; even with the all-information contexts, some participants decided to produce subjunctive mood. This result does not change my confirmation that subjunctive was preferred with no-information contexts, but raises the question of why it was also used with all-information contexts, which were supposed to produce the opposite in terms of how much information was given to speakers.

As it was presented in the Discussion chapter, all-information contexts were not taken as contexts where every detail of information was completely clear for participants. For some of them, information was enough to let them make a commitment to the truth value of the event (thus, producing indicative), but for others, it was not enough (thus, they chose subjunctive). The division shows almost the exact numbers: 46% of indicative mood and 45% of subjunctive mood.⁹⁴ For this reason, it is necessary to consider that even when the contexts of the stories were created in ways that information seemed to be obvious, some speakers still had doubts about the truth value of the events described. This may be due to the fact that they were not direct participants in the situations.

In conclusion, I can confirm that there were general tendencies with regard to variation in mood in this last linguistic factor. On one hand, indicative mood was preferred with all-information rather than with no-information contexts. On the other hand, subjunctive mood was preferred with no-information rather than with all-information contexts. Little information contexts were mostly taken as contexts that gave relevant information and, thus, contexts where indicative mood had to be used. However, there were some differences in the all-information contexts, because many speakers preferred subjunctive instead of indicative mood, suggesting that they did not consider that the information given was enough for them.

In summary, of the ten predictions proposed for my five research questions, I have confirmed nine of them:

- Groups that speak varieties of Peruvian Spanish produced less answers in past subjunctive than the group of Mexican Spanish.
- There were fewer answers in past subjunctive in the Andean group than in the other two groups of Peruvian Spanish.
- Variation in mood was more frequent in the Andean group than in the two non-Andean groups from Peru.
- In Peruvian Spanish varieties, variation in tense (answers in present subjunctive) was frequent not only in present events, but also in past events.

⁹⁴ Refer to Table 31 and Table 33 in the Results chapter.

- Variation in tense is so frequent in Peruvian Spanish varieties that results showed that the three verb types accepted answers in present subjunctive.
- Answers in a grammatical mood other than subjunctive were less for desire verbs than for factive-emotive verbs.
- Variation in mood was also found with lack of knowledge verbs due to the specific contexts participants are given.
- More indicative mood answers were produced with all information contexts (with lack of knowledge verbs).
- Less indicative mood answers (and more subjunctive) were produced with no information contexts (with lack of knowledge verbs).

7.2 Conclusions about the results

7.2.1 Conclusions about the two types of variation studied

According to previous studies, variation in tense in subordinate clauses with subjunctive mood is frequent in Latin American varieties of Spanish (Arrizabalaga 2009; Carrasco Gutiérrez 1999; Sessarego 2008, 2010). However, it has been shown that there are differences in the frequency of variation among these varieties as well. Thus, variation in tense can be found in high percentages in some dialects, such as Peruvian Spanish, but in lower ones in others, such as Mexican Spanish (Sessarego 2008, 2010).

Results for my study showed that this is still the pattern that can be found with regard to those two Latin American regions. Past subjunctive, as the form expected according to prescriptive rules, was produced in higher percentages in the Mexican group than in the Peruvian ones. In addition to that, present subjunctive showed the opposite pattern: it was produced in lower percentages in the Mexican group than in the Peruvian ones.

The results of present subjunctive obtained in the current study are lower for both regions than the results presented by Sessarego in his study of 2010. However, I can expect to find these differences since Sessarego used diverse data from the CREA corpus (including written formal texts found in newspapers and journals). In fact, he claims that

his study must be taken as a preliminary analysis and not as a deep description of each dialect.

On the other hand, when focusing on whether it is possible to find another type of variation (variation in mood) within Peruvian dialects, variation in tense was not the only type of variation found in my study. In my study, variation in mood was expected in at least one of the four groups of speakers. In previous versions of my study, many answers by the group from the Andean region were not in subjunctive, which was the reason why variation in mood was expected in the present study.

Most of the answers in indicative mood in previous versions were produced with lack of knowledge verbs. As a consequence, I decided to include the degree of knowledge factor to see whether participants produced indicative mood based on the information they know. If they were given all the relevant information, they should prefer indicative mood; otherwise, they should prefer subjunctive.

Results showed that both predictions were confirmed, as it was analyzed in the Discussion chapter. Furthermore, this second type of variation was not only produced with lack of knowledge verbs, but also with factive-emotive and desire verbs, especially within the Peruvian Spanish groups. With the first type, variation was expected due to the nature of this verb type, which accepts both indicative and subjunctive. But with desire verbs, indicative and conditional mood were found too, in particular within the bilingual group. As it was explained before, this variation must be related to the process of acquisition of Spanish as a second language.

On the other hand, with respect to variation in mood, the bilingual group differed from the other two Peruvian groups significantly, due to its higher percentages of answers produced in both indicative and conditional mood. Reasons why this group produced more non-subjunctive answers are related to how dominant the participants were in Spanish. Two subgroups were found, which reflected that less dominant learners were the ones who did not prefer subjunctive over other grammatical moods, as discussed earlier.

7.2.2 Conclusions about language and dialect contact

As it was presented in the discussion chapter and in the results chapter, tense variation was not found to be significantly higher in the bilingual group, which does not let us claim that the preference for present subjunctive is reinforced by Quechua. As a matter of fact, there were higher percentages in the two monolingual groups of Peruvian Spanish. For this reason, it was suggested that variation in tense must be considered a phenomenon internal to the Spanish language. Within this phenomenon, Peruvian is one step further varied in comparison to Mexican Spanish.

Looking at variation in mood, results showed that the bilingual group had significantly higher percentages than the other groups of the study. Within this group, more answers in either indicative or conditional mood were produced by a subgroup of speakers, namely those who scored lower in the Spanish proficiency test. In other words, learners who can be identified as being at an intermediate level of acquisition (and less dominant in standard Spanish) were the ones who did not prefer subjunctive mood in their answers. As a consequence, it is possible to see that my results confirm that subjunctive mood is a verbal form that represents a challenge to Spanish learners, due to its syntactic and discursive features.

With regard to how the study results reflect the dialectal differences between Peruvian varieties, results for the three varieties of Peruvian Spanish showed that they are different from each other in various factors included in the study. The three groups produced both variation types in different percentages, although it was not possible to confirm that the bilingual group from the Andes was the one with highest percentages of tense variation (and therefore, that the fact that this type of variation is very frequent can be attributed to language contact).

Finally, it was expected that the dialectal differences between the three groups would reflect the dialectal continuum that has been proposed for Peruvian Spanish varieties (A. Escobar, 1977 and Cerrón-Palomino 2003). Based on this proposal, the group from Lima with the least migrant background would have higher percentages of

past subjunctive answers and less variation of any type compared to the other Peruvian groups. Following this first group, I would expect to find the group from Lima with most migrant background, and then the bilingual group from the Andes at the other end of the continuum.

However, results showed that regarding the two groups from Lima, the continuum was not reflected in the order that was expected, but with some unexpected variation order. The second group, which had people with most migrant background, produced higher percentages of the standard form (past subjunctive) than the group with least migrant background. As it was analyzed in the Discussion chapter, explanations for this unexpected finding must be found in the social characteristics of these two groups, because, although participants lived in areas considered to be “most migrant” or “least migrant,” some of them had backgrounds that resembled the characteristics of the other group (see Section 6.4.3).

Nevertheless, within dialect contact, it is necessary to add another observation. I wanted to see whether varieties of Peruvian Spanish share similar patterns when producing the types of variation studied. On one hand, I can say that they share similar patterns with respect to variation in tense, since there were no significant differences between answers in present subjunctive regardless of the verb type, the event time, or the degree of knowledge of the speaker. In fact, the only group that was significantly different from the rest of the groups was the Mexican one, which again confirms the similarities between the Peruvian groups.

On the other hand, as it has been mentioned above, there were differences when producing variation in mood – the bilingual group had higher percentages of answers in indicative and conditional mood (a finding that has been already explained). Nevertheless, this was not the case for the two monolingual groups from Lima, since there were no significant differences between them for indicative or for conditional mood answers. Therefore, I can say that both groups performed in a similar way in this type of variation.

These findings can give an answer to whether it is possible to find a very close pattern between the two groups in Lima due to constant interaction between members of these groups. For both types of variation, these two groups performed in similar ways and produced answers in very close percentages. Given these findings, I can assume that their results are due to the permanent contact between speakers of different varieties in the city. Moreover, it is highly probable that my participants must be in constant contact with other groups since most of them (in both groups) showed that they had open social networks, meaning that their everyday activities lead them to situations where contact with different groups occurs. Moreover, there were no significant differences between the two groups in terms of openness of their social networks, i.e. people in both groups are similar in the way they get in contact with other groups. Thus, the social network index included in my study let us understand how social interaction plays a role in the dialect contact present in Lima.

The areas of the city that were included in the study were chosen due to the social characteristics of their inhabitants; in particular, I was interested in their Andean migrant background. However, the social network index showed us that those social characteristics must be understood on a gradient scale, that is, not all individuals represented prototypical cases of inhabitants of each of the areas included. For instance, some participants in the most migrant group were in fact born to Andean migrant parents who could even be Quechua-Spanish bilinguals, had migrant neighbors, etc. On the contrary, there were some cases in the same group that were opposite: parents from Lima or non-Andean migrants, Spanish monolinguals, frequent activities outside their area, etc.

7.2.3 Implications for contact linguistics and second language acquisition

My study suggests that dialect contact is very probable when groups of speakers are in constant interaction. Focusing on my monolingual groups from Lima, it is possible to see that their productions of the target form and both types of variation were very similar, (since there were no significant differences). As it was mentioned in the Discussion chapter, participants in one group are exposed to the variety of Spanish of the other, and vice versa. This is due to the fact that most of them had very open social

networks and some of their relatives and neighbors had backgrounds that resemble the characteristics of the other group.

In order to see if both types of variation are language contact-induced phenomena, it is necessary to see whether all speakers in the bilingual group show a similar pattern of variation so that I can consider it a stable phenomenon. Based on what was stated above, I can say that variation in mood is not a stable phenomenon because of the two distinguishable subgroups of speakers. The more dominant learners produced more subjunctive answers than the less dominant learners. These differences suggest that variation in mood does not stay as a feature of the bilingual community, but diminishes depending on the acquisition level of Spanish of the speakers (and how dominant they are in the standard variety of Spanish). However, it is important to highlight that the different grammatical moods produced by those bilinguals confirmed what previous research has suggested: that indicative mood is preferred over subjunctive in Quechua-Spanish speakers.

This last fact (that variation in mood is not a stable feature in bilinguals) can be better explained in terms of second language acquisition. I wanted to see if there were differences within the bilingual speakers and if these differences reflect that variation is different for them. Results within my group living in the Andean region confirm that there were significant differences between more dominant and less dominant learners.

Therefore, it is necessary to confirm if these types of variation can be attributed to the acquisition process of Spanish as a second language. At least for variation in mood, it is possible to consider that it is produced mainly due to the process of acquisition of Spanish. It was mentioned already that only the more dominant learners showed a tendency to use subjunctive mood in their answers, whereas less dominant learners did not. Previous research in the acquisition of subjunctive has shown that this a grammatical feature that is acquire at later stages of the process of acquisition. This lets us confirm that variation in mood in the bilingual group of my study is not a phenomenon stable in the bilingual community, but a feature that gives ground to the native-like subjunctive use

when learners reach advanced stages of acquisition.

7.3 Limitations of the study and future research

When results were analyzed, there were some findings that suggested problematic details of the study, which must be taken as limitations. Regarding the social factor of the region or background where the speakers are from, results showed that the two groups from Lima did not reflect the dialectal continuum as it was expected, i.e. the group with least migrant background was not the closest one to the standard form.

In this chapter, I considered that this finding was due to the social characteristics of those two groups, since participants do some activities outside of their area and have very open social networks. Furthermore, some of them can have a social background that resembles the background of the opposite group most (for instance, most migrant people in the lives of least migrant speakers and vice versa).

One way of trying to make two completely opposite groups in a future version of the study is to look for participants whose social networks are not open but instead at least “medium.” Based on the answers of participants of the current study, it does not seem as though it would be possible to find a big group of people who have the densest, close social networks, who do all their activities in the same area, and who share with people from exactly the same background.

It would also be necessary to assure that the social characteristics of one group are not present in the other one; for example, people with migrant neighbors are included only in the group with most migrant background. Although the current study tried to create groups with two clearly distinct backgrounds, there was only one factor for doing this: the area where speakers live in Lima. In a future study, other social factors must be included in order to make the difference most migrant/least migrant clear. Some relevant factors could be the family background, the time living in Lima, the social characteristics of neighbors, etc.

On the other hand, results of the current study must be compared to results from naturalistic data. A future long-term study must take the two types of variation studied here in spontaneous conversation into account, where participants are not forced to follow a sentence created by the researcher. Although it did not happen in many cases, some participants realized that the task was looking for the production of verbs in the nominal clause. However, I do not think that this could have made them change their answer since tense variation is not a salient stigmatized feature in Peruvian Spanish, although a spontaneous conversation would make them feel more comfortable instead of thinking that they are taking a school test.

Focusing on the linguistic factors included in this study, there was a flaw in the comparison between the three verb types due to the different number of items in each verb type. While factive-emotive and desire verbs had eight items for past events each, lack of knowledge verbs had twelve (four for each level of the degree of knowledge factor). Thus, a future version of this study must compare the same number of items in order to get more accurate results. In this same sense, items with a lack of knowledge verb were created as past events, i.e. stories for these items presented events that were not possible to be done in the present. However, there were some items with contexts where present events were possible too. Because all contexts were created specifically for the study, I consider that this flaw could be avoided by the analysis of naturalistic data.

Another factor that showed unexpected results was degree of knowledge. Items were created that made information highly explicit in the all-information contexts; however, results showed that speakers did not assume this and consider the information non-assertive anyway. This finding suggests that it is very difficult to create contexts that participants would assume have all the information they need to produce their answer. Because those contexts are not created by them, speakers still consider that there is information missing. For this reason, the proposal of analyzing the two types of variation in naturalistic data is even more convincing. In spontaneous conversation, participants themselves would create a context that would make them treat information as either assertive or non-assertive.

It is also necessary to redesign the Quechua part of the production task. A new version where prompts are presented in Quechua is needed for speakers to produce nominal clauses. Quechua results in my current study showed that participants produced adverbial rather than nominal clauses in many cases, which was due to the fact that prompts were only presented in Spanish. They did not use exactly the same answer to complete the stories in both languages.

Finally, all the modifications presented in this section would lead to better results in a long-term study, with more participants per group and more dialects (of both the Peruvian continuum and the Latin American region) included if possible. A study of these characteristics would also let us collect more data, since the use of specific verb types, event times, or information amounts would not necessarily appear frequently in spontaneous conversations.

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APPENDIX A
SOCIOLINGUISTIC BACKGROUND QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Gender
2. How old are you?
3. Where were you born?
4. Where in Lima/Ayacucho/Mexico City do you live?
5. If you were not born here, how old were you when you moved in?
6. Have you lived in different areas of this city before? Where?
7. What do you usually do in your free time?
8. Where do you hang out with your family and/or friends?
9. Do you spend time with your classmates outside of school?
10. Who do you live with?
11. Where are they from? Where is your family from?
12. How long has your family lived in this city?
13. Have they lived in different areas of this city before? Where?
14. Where are your neighbors from? Are they from places where your family is from? Do you usually talk with them?
15. Do you see your relatives frequently? Do you visit them?
16. What languages do you speak? When did you start speaking them?
17. What languages do you speak at home? With whom do you speak them?
18. What languages does your family speak?
19. What languages do your classmates speak? Do you talk with them in those languages?

APPENDIX B

PRODUCTION TASK

Instructions

En este cuestionario, vas a leer y escuchar historias cortas que tienen una oración incompleta al final. Después de escuchar toda la historia que está en la pantalla, completa la oración oralmente.

Completa las oraciones con lo primero que venga a tu cabeza, no necesitas pensarlo mucho.

Para pasar a la siguiente historia, presiona ▼.

“In this questionnaire, you will read and listen to short stories that have an incomplete sentence at the end. After listening to the whole story, complete the sentence orally.

Complete the sentences with the first thing that comes to mind, you don't need to think about it a lot.

To go to the next story, press ▼.”

Items

Factive-emotive verb (lamentar “to be sorry”) - past event - item 1

Ricardo le está contando a su hermano que una amiga de los dos fue a visitarlos hace unas horas, pero solo encontró a Ricardo. Su hermano estaba trabajando en ese momento. Ricardo dice: “Ella trajo fotos de su cumpleaños del sábado pasado. Cuando vi las fotos, me acordé lo bien que la pasé allí. Te la perdiste. Ella lamentó que tú...

“Ricardo is telling his brother about a mutual friend who went to visit them a few hours ago, but only found Ricardo at home. His brother was working at that moment.

Ricardo says: ‘She brought pictures of her birthday party last Saturday. When I saw the pictures, I remembered how good the party was. You shouldn't have missed it. She was sorry that you...’

Factive-emotive verb (lamentar “to be sorry”) - past event - item 2

Toda la familia de Jorge se iba de viaje a Trujillo hace dos meses. Pero cuando solo faltaban unos días para el viaje, Jorge se dobló el pie jugando fútbol y tuvieron que ponerle un yeso. Hoy, su mamá conversa con su vecina.

La mamá de Jorge dice: “Ya estaban comprados los pasajes, las maletas estaban hechas, todo. Lamenté que él...”

“Jorge’s whole family was going to travel to Trujillo two months ago. But when there were only few days left to start the trip, Jorge broke his foot playing soccer and had it in a plaster cast. Today, his mother is talking with her neighbor.

Jorge’s mother says: ‘Tickets were already bought, luggage was already prepared, everything. I was sorry that he...’

Factive-emotive verb (lamentar “to be sorry”) - past event - item 3

El hermano de Julio recibió una oferta para trabajar en otro país. Era un trabajo para ingenieros de la edad de su hermano, pero él no pudo tomar una decisión a tiempo, y le dieron el trabajo a otra persona.

Julio dice: “La señora que le ofreció el trabajo a mi hermano lo llamaba todos los días para preguntarle, pero él tenía miedo de irse a otro país. Al final, ella lamentó que él...”

“Julio’s brother got a job offer from abroad. It was a job for engineers like Julio’s brother, but he couldn’t make his decision on time and the position was given to someone else.

Julio says: ‘The lady that sent the job offer to my brother was calling him every day to know his decision, but he was afraid of going abroad. Finally, she was sorry that he...’

Factive-emotive verb (lamentar “to be sorry”) - past event - item 4

Nadia le cuenta a su hermano menor cómo fue el recibimiento de sus abuelos en el aeropuerto. Ellos llegaron hoy a las 6 de la mañana y toda la familia fue a recogerlos, menos el hermano de Nadia.

Nadia dice: “Los abuelos estaban muy felices de venir a visitarnos. La abuela preguntó por ti y le dijimos que no pudiste ir. Ella lamentó que tú...

“Nadia is telling her younger brother how their grandparents’ arrival at the airport was. They arrived today at 6 am and the whole family except Nadia’s brother went to pick them up.

Nadia says: ‘Grandpa and grandma were very happy to come visit us. Grandma asked about you and we told her you couldn’t go. She was sorry that you...’

Factive-emotive verb (alegrarse “to be happy”) - past event - item 1

El hijo menor de Mónica le está haciendo muchas preguntas a ella sobre su época de bebé. Él quiere saber las cosas que hacía y lo que Mónica pensaba de él.

Mónica dice: “Tú eras un bebito muy lindo. Como todavía no sabías caminar, siempre gateabas mucho por toda la casa. Yo me alegraba de que tú...

“Mónica’s youngest son is asking her about the time when he was a baby. He wants to know what things he used to do and what Mónica thought of him.

Mónica says: ‘You were such a pretty baby. Since you didn’t know how to walk yet, you were always crawling around the house. I was happy that you...’

Factive-emotive verb (alegrarse “to be happy”) - past event - item 2

Lucía y su hermana se están acordando de cuando eran niñas y jugaban voley en la calle. Hace muchos años que dejaron de jugar.

Lucía dice: “¿Te acuerdas que jugábamos contra los chicos de la otra calle? Había una chica en ese grupo que te caía mal. Tú siempre te alegrabas de que ella...

“Lucía and her sister are remembering the time when they were little girls and used to play volleyball in the street. They stopped playing many years ago.

Lucía says: ‘Remember when we used to play against the kids from the other street? There was a girl in that group that you didn’t like. You were always happy that she...’

Factive-emotive verb (alegrarse “to be happy”) - past event - item 3

Juanita siempre ha tenido problemas con el curso de Matemática y este año ha sido difícil para ella. Pero la profesora le mandó tarea extra para practicar más. Hoy, la mamá de Juanita ha ido a conversar con la profesora.

La profesora dice: “Juanita se ha esforzado mucho este año y creo que ha mejorado muchísimo en sus notas. ¡Ella sacó una muy buena nota en el último examen! Me alegré de que ella...”

“Juanita has always found Math class difficult and this year has been tough for her. But the teacher gave her extra work so she could practice more. Today, Juanita’s mom is talking with the teacher.

The teacher says: ‘Juanita has made so much effort this year and I think she’s improved her grades very much. She got an excellent grade on her last exam! I was happy that she...’

Factive-emotive verb (alegrarse “to be happy”) - past event - item 4

Susanita está mirando fotos con su mamá y preguntándole por las cosas que hacía cuando era una niñita pequeña. Ellas están viendo fotos de Susanita dando sus primeros pasos.

Susanita dice: “Mira, mamá, aquí estoy caminando, seguro que solo podía caminar unos pasitos. Y en estas fotos tú estás mirándome muy sonriente. Te alegrabas de que yo...”

“Susanita is looking at pictures with her mom and asking her about things she used to do when she was a little girl. There are some pictures of Susanita taking her first steps.

Susanita says: ‘Look, mom, I’m walking here, I bet I could only take a few steps. And in these pictures, you are looking at me with a smile on your face. You were happy that I...’

Factive-emotive verb (lamentar “to be sorry”) - present event - item 1

Nora regresa a su casa tarde y su hermana le cuenta que unos tíos llegaron a recoger las invitaciones para el matrimonio de Nora.

Su hermana dice: “La tía Bertha se sorprendió al ver que el matrimonio va a ser en diciembre. Dice que ellos se van de viaje para esa época. La tía lamentó que tú...

“Nora comes back home really late and her sister tells her that their aunt and uncle came to pick up their invitations to Nora’s wedding.

Her sister says: ‘Aunt Bertha was surprised that your wedding is in December. She says that they will be traveling by that time. She was sorry that you...’

Factive-emotive verb (lamentar “to be sorry”) - present event - item 2

La secretaria del señor Torres está conversando con otro trabajador y le cuenta que el señor Torres trató muy mal a una mujer que se reunió con él ayer.

La secretaria dice: “La mujer salió muy molesta de la oficina del señor Torres. Parece que él le dijo cosas muy feas. Ella lamentó que él...

“Mr. Torres’ secretary was talking to a colleague and tells him that Mr. Torres treated a woman with whom he met yesterday really badly.

The secretary says: ‘The woman left very upset from Mr. Torres’ office. It seems that he said awful things. She was sorry that he...’

Factive-emotive verb (lamentar “to be sorry”) - present event - item 3

Sandro forma parte del equipo de fútbol del barrio y ha entrenado con ellos para el campeonato del fin de semana. Lamentablemente, hace unos días sufrió una lesión y no podrá jugar. Uno de sus compañeros de equipo está conversando con él.

El compañero de Sandro dice: “Ayer me contaron de tu lesión, me sorprendió mucho, porque no vas a poder jugar. Lamenté que tú...

“Sandro is part of the soccer team of his neighborhood and has been training with them for the tournament this weekend. Unfortunately, he injured himself a few days ago and won’t be able to play. One of his teammates is talking with him.

Sandro’s teammate says: ‘I found out about your injury yesterday, I was really surprised because you won’t be able to play. I was sorry that you...’

Factive-emotive verb (lamentar “to be sorry”) - present event - item 4

Valeria y su hermana están discutiendo sobre sus planes para el fin de semana. Valeria está tratando de recordar la conversación que tuvieron las dos el día anterior para que su hermana no le cambie los planes hoy.

Valeria dice: “Ayer te dije que no podré ir a comprar el sábado. Te dije que tendrás que ir sola y tú lamentaste que yo...”

“Valeria and her sister are talking about their weekend plans. Valeria is trying to remember their conversation from last night because she doesn’t want her sister to change plans today.

Valeria says: ‘Yesterday I told you that I can’t go shopping on Saturday. I told you to go by yourself and you were sorry that I...’

Factive-emotive verb (alegrarse “to be happy”) - present event - item 1

Laura conversa por teléfono con su hija que está en otro país. Laura le cuenta que estuvo hablando con algunos familiares hace unos días.

Laura dice: “Le dije a tu abuelita que estás muy bien y que vas a venir a visitarnos pronto. Ella se alegró de que tú...”

“Laura talks on the phone with her daughter, who is abroad. Laura tells her that she was talking with some relatives a few days ago.

Laura says: ‘I told your grandma that you are doing fine and will come to visit us soon. She was happy that you...’

Factive-emotive verb (alegrarse “to be happy”) - present event - item 2

Gonzalo le está contando a su papá de lo que pasó en el colegio hoy. Le dice que la profesora les preguntó por el trabajo grupal que tienen que hacer y si ya saben quiénes los van a ayudar con eso.

Gonzalo dice: “Le contamos a la profesora que le hemos pedido ayuda al señor Rosales y que él nos va ayudar la próxima semana. Ella se alegró de que él...”

“Gonzalo is telling his father about what happened at school today. He says that his teacher asked about the group work they have to do and if they know who is going to help them.

Gonzalo says: ‘We told our teacher that we’ve asked Mr. Rosales for help and he is going to help us next week. She was happy that he...’

Factive-emotive verb (alegrarse “to be happy”) - present event - item 3

La mamá de Antonio le está contando que se encontró con la madrina de Antonio hace dos días. Su madrina le regaló un par de zapatillas nuevas y Antonio ha empezado a usarlas hace poco.

La mamá de Antonio dice: “Le conté que todos los viernes vas a jugar fútbol con tus nuevas zapatillas y ella se alegró de que tú...”

“Antonio’s mom is telling him that she ran into Antonio’s godmother two days ago. His godmother gave him a pair of new tennis shoes and he has begun using them recently.

Antonio’s mom says: ‘I told her that every Friday you go to play soccer with your new tennis shoes and she was happy that you...’

Factive-emotive verb (alegrarse “to be happy”) - present event - item 4

Víctor está contándole a un amigo sobre su encuentro con una amiga de la infancia. Víctor y su amiga se volvieron a ver después de muchos años y se contaron muchas historias.

Víctor dice: “Ella me contó que está trabajando mucho y le gusta mucho su trabajo. Por eso, me alegré de que ella...”

“V́ctor is telling a friend about his reunion with a childhood friend. V́ctor and his friend saw each other again after many years and told each other many stories.

V́ctor says: ‘She told me that she is working a lot and likes her job very much. Thus, I was happy that she...’

Desire verb (querer “to want”) - past event - item 1

Rosa llega a su casa muy tarde en la noche y encuentra a su hermano viendo televisión. Pregunta por su mamá y se entera que ya está durmiendo.

Su hermano dice: “Está molesta contigo. A las 5 se fue a comprar las cosas para tu fiesta del sábado. Te estuvo esperando un buen rato, porque ella quería que tú...”

“Rosa gets home late at night and finds her brother watching TV. She asks for her mother and he tells her that she is already sleeping.

Rosa’s brother says: ‘Mom is mad at you. At 5, she went to buy stuff for your Saturday party. She was waiting for you for a long time, because she wanted you to...”

Desire verb (querer “to want”) - past event - item 2

Alicia es fanática de un cantante muy famoso y una tienda de la ciudad de Alicia ha anunciado la presentación del cantante hoy. Cuando Alicia llega con su cuaderno y un lápiz a la tienda, le dicen que el cantante ya se fue.

Alicia dice: “No puede ser! Esta era la única oportunidad que tenía de verlo! Yo quería que él...”

“Alicia is a big fan of a very famous singer, and a store in Alicia's town has announced the singer’s presentation today. When Alicia arrives there with her notebook and her pencil, people in the store tell her that the singer has already left.

Alicia says: ‘No, that’s not possible! This was my only opportunity for me to see him! I wanted him to...”

Desire verb (querer “to want”) - past event - item 3

Andrea está vendiendo rifas para un evento de su colegio y va a la casa del señor López a ofrecer unas cuantas. Andrea piensa que va a vender muchas allí porque el señor López se ganó la lotería hace poco y tiene mucho dinero. Pero la esposa del señor le dice que ya no tienen plata.

Andrea dice: “¡Ay qué pena! O sea que el señor López ya se gastó todo lo que ganó en la lotería! Yo quería que él...

“Andrea is selling raffle tickets for a fundraising event of her school and goes to offer some tickets at Mr. López’s house. Andrea thinks Mr. López will buy many tickets because he won the lottery not that long ago and has a lot of money. But Mrs. López says they don’t have money anymore.

Andrea says: ‘What a pity! So Mr. López spent all his lottery money already! I wanted him to...’

Desire verb (querer “to want”) - past event - item 4

La mamá de Paola es costurera y siempre ayuda con arreglos de última hora a sus vecinos, pero hoy salió todo el día a hacer compras. Cuando regresa a su casa muy tarde en la noche, Paola le cuenta que una vecina vino a buscarla con mucho apuro.

Paola dice: “Ella tenía un matrimonio hoy día y justo se le descosió el vestido que se iba a poner. Estaba desesperada porque ya no tenía mucho tiempo. Ella quería que tú...

“Paola’s mom is a dressmaker and is always helping neighbors when they need last minute tailoring, but today she went out to buy groceries. When she gets back home really late at night, Paola tells her that a neighbor wanted to see her urgently.

Paola says: ‘The lady was going to a wedding today and found out that her dress had come unstitched. She was desperate because she was running out of time. She wanted you to...’

Desire verb (desear “to wish”) - past event - item 1

Arturo conversa con su pequeña hija, a quien le gusta que siempre le cuenten sus travesuras de cuando era más chiquita. Ella siempre pregunta lo mismo y Arturo responde con mucha paciencia.

La niña dice: “Papá, ¿te acuerdas que yo siempre corría por toda la casa? ¿qué pensabas cuando yo hacía eso? ¿te acuerdas que yo no podía alcanzar las cosas de la mesa así como ahora? Y yo deseaba que tú...

“Arturo is talking with his little daughter, who always likes him to tell her about the time when she was younger. She always asks the same things and Arturo answers patiently.

The girl says: ‘Dad, do you remember when I used to run all over the house? What were you thinking when I used to that? Do you remember that I couldn’t reach things on the table like I can now? And I wished that you...’

Desire verb (desear “to wish”) - past event - item 2

Rocío y su hermana están recordando la época en la que vivían en un pueblo muy lejos de donde viven ahora. Se acuerdan de un viejito que siempre visitaba a la familia y les llevaba dulces de regalo.

Rocío dice: “Ese señor siempre llegaba a la casa, sobre todo los fines de semana. Los sábados yo siempre me despertaba feliz pensando que llegaría pronto. Yo deseaba que él...

“Rocío and her sister are remembering the time when they used to live in a town very far away from where they live now. They remember an old man who used to visit them and bring them candies.

Rocío says: ‘That man always went to our house, particularly on the weekends. Every Saturday, I used to wake up happy thinking that he would be home soon. I wished that he...’

Desire verb (desear “to wish”) - past event - item 3

La familia de Gustavo se va de paseo la próxima semana y él está pensando invitar a su amigo Bruno al paseo. Por eso, Gustavo ha ido a la casa de Bruno para pedirle permiso a su mamá y contarle los detalles del paseo.

Gustavo dice: “Si le da permiso a Bruno, déjelo ir a la piscina con nosotros también por favor. El año pasado, la mamá de Diego no le mandó su ropa de baño porque ella deseaba que él...

“Gustavo’s family is going to the country club next week and he wants to invite Bruno. Thus, Gustavo is at Bruno’s house to ask his mom to let him go; he is also telling her about their plans for the country club visit.

Gustavo says: ‘If you let Bruno go, please let him get in the pool with us. Last year, Diego’s mom didn’t give him his swimsuit because she wished that he...’

Desire verb (desear “to wish”) - past event - item 4

El hermano de Marita canta muy bien y ella está segura de que podría ganar el concurso de canto de la ciudad. El problema es que el último día para inscribirse al concurso fue la semana pasada y los dos se acaban de enterar de esto cuando llegan a la Municipalidad a inscribirse.

Marita dice: “¡No puede ser! ¡No nos enteramos de esto a tiempo! Yo deseaba que tú...

“Marita’s brother sings really well and she is sure that he could win the city’s singing contest. The problem is that the deadline to sign up for the contest was last week and they just found out when they got to the City Hall to sign up.

Marita says: ‘Oh no! We didn’t get the information on time! I wished that you...’

Desire verb (querer “to want”) - present event - item 1

Tomás regresa a su casa después del trabajo y encuentra un paquete de libros en la mesa del comedor. Su esposa le cuenta que un vecino los dejó allí en la tarde.

Su esposa dice: “Vino el señor Martínez y preguntó por ti, pensaba que tú ya habías regresado del trabajo. Te trajo esos libros, porque sabe que te gusta la filosofía. El quería que tú...

“Tomás goes back home after work and finds a package of books on the dining room table. His wife tells him that one of their neighbors left the books there in the afternoon.

His wife says: ‘Mr. Martínez came to visit and asked for you, thinking you were already coming home from work. He brought you those books, because he knows you like philosophy. He wanted you to...’

Desire verb (querer “to want”) - present event - item 2

Fernando llega a su casa y encuentra a sus hermanos prendiendo unas velas. Ellos le cuentan que hubo un apagón repentino y toda la casa se quedó a oscuras. Cuando Fernando pregunta por su mamá, le dicen que ha salido hace rato.

Uno de sus hermanos dice: “Se fue a la casa de doña Olga. Parece que allí tienen el teléfono de un electricista. Ella quería que él...

“Fernando gets home and finds his brothers lighting some candles. They tell him that there was a sudden blackout and the whole house was left in darkness. When Fernando asks for her mother, they tell him that she has left a while ago.

One of his brothers says: ‘She went to Mrs. Olga’s house. It seems that they have the electrician’s number there. She wanted him to...’

Desire verb (querer “to want”) - present event - item 3

Un tío de Luchito estuvo de visita hace unas horas y la familia entera se alegró porque el tío viene muy pocas veces al pueblo. El hermano de Luchito no estaba en casa cuando llegó el tío y no lo pudo ver. Ahora, Luchito le cuenta a su hermano sobre la visita.

Luchito dice: “El tío dejó un montón de cosas para nosotros, incluso una cámara de fotos. Él sabe que a ti te gustan muchos las cámaras, así que él quería que tú...

“Luchito’s uncle came to visit a few hours ago and the whole family was happy because this uncle does not visit them very often. Luchito’s brother wasn’t at home on that moment and couldn’t see his uncle. Now, Luchito is telling his brother about the uncle’s visit.

Luchito says: ‘He left a lot of stuff for us, even a camera. He knows you like cameras very much, so he wanted you to...’

Desire verb (querer “to want”) - present event - item 4

Marco regresa a su casa del colegio y le cuenta a su mamá que uno de sus amigos va a celebrar su cumpleaños. Este amigo sabe que Marco tiene una pelota de fútbol nueva y tiene muchas ganas de probarla.

Marco dice: “Él estuvo hablando todo el día de su cumpleaños, está pensando hacer un partido de fútbol ese día para celebrar. Me estuvo hablando todo el rato sobre mi pelota nueva, él quería que yo...”

“Marco comes back from school and tells his mom that one of his friends is having a birthday party soon. This friend knows that Marco has a new soccer ball and would love to use it.

Marco says: ‘He was talking about his birthday party the whole day, he wants to play a soccer game that day to celebrate. He was talking about my new soccer ball, he wanted me to...’

Desire verb (desear “to wish”) - present event - item 1

Lucía va a la casa de sus primos para ayudar a organizar la fiesta de cumpleaños de la abuela. Cuando llega, ve que hay muchos ingredientes y alimentos por toda la cocina y la gente está muy ocupada limpiando todo.

Uno de los primos de Lucía dice: ‘Mi mamá salió un rato a comprar las últimas cosas que faltan, pero dejó todas las cosas listas para la salsa huancaína. Ella deseaba que tú...’

“Lucía goes to her cousins’ house to help them organize their grandma’s birthday party. When she gets there, she sees a lot of ingredients and food all over the kitchen, and people are busy cleaning everything.

One of her cousins says: ‘My mother went to buy some stuff that we need, but she left all the ingredients ready for the spicy cheese sauce. She wished that you...’

Desire verb (desear “to wish”) - present event - item 2

Manuel va a recoger unos dibujos que su hermana ha mandado a hacer a un dibujante profesional. Estos dibujos todavía no están terminados pero les falta muy poco. Cuando su hermana ve los dibujos, piensa que no son tan bonitos como ella imaginaba.

Manuel dice: “Pero ¿por qué no te gustan? Ese dibujante es muy bueno. Yo creo que se ven bonitos así en blanco y negro. Ya sé! Tú deseabas que él...”

“Manuel picks up some drawings that his sister has asked a professional draftsman to do. These drawings are not done yet, but almost. When his sister sees the drawings, she thinks they are not as good as she thought they were going to be.

Manuel says: ‘But why you don’t like them? That draftsman is very good. I think the drawings look good black and white. I know! You wished that he...’

Desire verb (desear “to wish”) - present event - item 3

Gabriela ha preparado galletas con una nueva receta. Las preparó especialmente porque su tía favorita va a visitar su casa, pero su mamá le dice que su tía ha postergado la visita para dentro de una semana.

Gabriela dice: “¡Qué pena! Me he pasado tanto tiempo preparando estas galletas, pero no van a durar tanto tiempo. Yo deseaba que ella...”

“Gabriela has baked cookies with a new recipe. She baked them especially because her favorite aunt is going to visit them. However, her mom tells her that her aunt has postponed her visit for next week.

Gabriela says: ‘What a pity! I’ve spent a lot of time baking these cookies, but they won’t last that long. I wished that she...’

Desire verb (desear “to wish”) - present event - item 4

Dos amigas están comentando sobre las cosas que les gustan a sus mamás. Una de ellas dice que a su mamá le gusta llevarla a la iglesia a cantar en el coro de niños. La otra amiga se sorprende de enterarse de esto.

Ella dice: “¡Qué coincidencia! Mi mamá y yo vimos un coro de niños hace unas semanas en la iglesia y ella se puso a averiguar cuándo se reúnen a ensayar. Ella deseaba que yo...

“Two friends are talking about things their moms like. One of them says that her mom likes to take her to church to sing in the children’s choir. The other girl is surprised by this.

She says: ‘What a coincidence! My mom and I saw a children’s choir some weeks ago at church and she was asking when they get together to rehearse. She wished that I...’

Lack of knowledge verb (ignorar “to not know”) - all information - item 1

Teresa y Carolina están hablando sobre un chico que conocieron hace un tiempo. Teresa dice que se encontró con este chico la semana pasada y hablaron un rato.

Teresa dice: “Me preguntó muchas cosas de ti y yo le conté que en tu casa viven nueve personas, él no sabía casi nada de ti! Por eso, él ignoraba que tú...

“Teresa and Carolina are talking about a guy that they met some time ago. Teresa says that she ran into this guy last week and they talked for a while.

Teresa says: ‘He asked me a lot of things about you and I told him that there’s nine people living in your house, he didn’t know hardly anything about you! For that reason, he didn’t know that you...’

Lack of knowledge verb (ignorar “to not know”) - all information - item 2

Elena y su amiga se ven después de mucho tiempo y se están contando las novedades de las últimas semanas.

Elena dice: “El otro día me encontré con tu mamá y me contó que estuviste leyendo la biografía de esa pintora famosa, yo no sé nada de ella! Tu mamá me dijo que has leído mucho sobre los deportes que le gustaban, por ejemplo, tú ignorabas que ella...

“Elena and her friend met after a long time and they are talking about the news from the past weeks.

Elena says: ‘I ran into your mom the other day and she told me you were reading the biography of that famous painter, I don’t know anything about her! Your mom said that you have read a lot about the sports she liked; for example, you didn’t know that she...’

Lack of knowledge verb (ignorar “to not know”) - all information - item 3

Ursula conoció al primo de una de sus amigas hace unos días y hoy le está contando a ella lo que habló con el primo.

Ursula dice: “Él me contó muchas cosas de ti que yo no sabía. Por ejemplo, me dijo que te daba miedo ir al médico cuando eras niña. Yo ignoraba que tú...

“Ursula met one of her friend’s cousins a few days ago and today she is telling her friend what she talked about with her cousin.

Ursula says: ‘He told me many things about you that I didn’t know. For example, he said that you were afraid of going to the doctor when you were a little girl. I didn’t know that you...’

Lack of knowledge verb (ignorar “to not know”) - all information - item 4

Daniel le cuenta a su esposa que se encontró con una chica que fue su vecina hace muchos años. Daniel y la chica conversaron por un buen rato y se contaron las últimas novedades de sus vidas.

Daniel dice: “¡No sabes cuántos lugares ha conocido ella, siempre está viajando! Y yo le conté que compramos esta casa cuando nos casamos. Ella ignoraba que yo...

“Daniel tells his wife that he ran into a girl that was his neighbor many years ago. Daniel and the girl chatted for a while and talked about the recent events in their lives.

Daniel says: ‘She has visited so many places, she is always traveling! And I told her that we bought this house when we got married. She didn’t know that I...’

Lack of knowledge verb (ignorar “to not know”) - little information - item 1

María y Juan han sido amigos desde niños. Ellos están hablando sobre los juegos que jugaban hace muchos años.

María se acuerda que ellos siempre jugaban en la casa de ella, pero nunca entraban a la casa de Juan. María dice: “Yo nunca fui a tu casa, no sabía qué juegos tenías allí!! Yo ignoraba que tú...”

“María and Juan have been friends since they were kids. They are talking about the games that they used to play many years ago.

María remembers that they always used to play in her house, but never in his. She says: ‘I never went to your house, I didn’t know what games you had there! I didn’t know that you...’”

Lack of knowledge verb (ignorar “to not know”) - little information - item 2

El señor Rodríguez está contando sus recuerdos de colegio a sus nietos. Les está hablando de Marco, uno de sus mejores amigos en la secundaria.

El señor Rodríguez dice: “Desde que salimos del colegio, no he sabido nada más de Marco. Él era bien buena gente pero a veces no quería contar nada sobre su familia y nunca supe mucho de ellos. Por ejemplo, yo ignoraba que él...”

“Mr. Rodríguez is telling his school memories to his grandchildren. He is talking about Marco, one of his best friends in high school.

Mr. Rodríguez says: ‘Since we finished high school, I haven’t heard of Marco. He was a very nice person but sometimes didn’t want to talk about his family; I never knew much about them. For example, I didn’t know that he...’”

Lack of knowledge verb (ignorar “to not know”) - little information - item 3

Pablito está comentando con su mamá sobre la fiesta a la que fueron hace unos días. Fue una fiesta en casa de una amiga de Pablito, a la que su mamá no conocía mucho.

Pablito dice: “Yo ya te había contado de su colección de muñecos de peluche, ¿te gustaron? Pero no sabías casi nada de cómo llegaron esos muñecos a su casa. Por ejemplo, tú ignorabas que ella...”

“Pablito is talking with his mom about a party that they went to a few days ago. It was a party organized by one of Pablito’s friend, who his mom did not know very well.

Pablito says: ‘I had already told you about her collection of stuffed animals, did you like it? But you didn’t know hardly anything about how she got all those stuffed animals. For example, you didn’t know that she...’

Lack of knowledge verb (ignorar “to not know”) - little information - item 4

El señor Velásquez es cocinero y a veces prepara comida para fiestas. Cuando el señor Velásquez llega a su casa, su hijo le dice que lo llamó una señora que quiere hacer un pedido de comida para el sábado.

Su hijo dice: “Me preguntó por el precio de las comidas principales. Yo le dije también que podías preparar otro tipo de comidas. Por ejemplo, ella ignoraba que tú...

“Mr. Velásquez is a cook and sometimes cooks for parties. When Mr. Velásquez gets home, his son tells him that a lady called asking to make a cooking order for Saturday.

His son says: ‘She asked me about the prices of the main dishes. I told her that you could cook other types of dishes too. For example, she didn’t know that you...’

Lack of knowledge verb (ignorar “to not know”) - no information - item 1

La semana pasada, un hombre le pidió dinero insistentemente a Carlos en la calle a pesar de que nunca se habían visto. Carlos estaba muy fastidiado con el hombre. Hoy, los dos se han encontrado sorpresivamente.

Carlos dice: “Otra vez te encuentro! Tú no me dejas caminar tranquilo! Yo nunca en mi vida te había visto, no sé nada de nada de ti o de tu vida, yo ignoraba que tú...

“Last week, a man asked Carlos for money repeatedly although they had never seen each other. Carlos was very upset because of that man. Today, they have met unexpectedly.

Carlos says: ‘I meet you again! You just don’t let me walk! I’d never seen you before, I don’t know anything about you or your life, I didn’t know that you...’

Lack of knowledge verb (ignorar “to not know”) - no information - item 2

La señora González está hablando acerca de la desaparición de su mascota hace dos años. Después de tanto tiempo, ella todavía no sabe qué fue lo que pasó exactamente ese día y no tiene ninguna idea de cómo pudo desaparecer el perrito.

La señora González dice: “Pregunté a todos los vecinos si lo habían visto, pero nada. Hasta ahora no sé nada de nada. En esa época fui a todos lados a preguntar, incluso donde un hombre que no conocía y con el que no volví a hablar nunca, yo ignoraba que él...

“Mrs. González is talking about how her pet disappeared two years ago. After such a long time, she doesn’t know yet what happened exactly and has no idea how the dog could have disappeared.

Mrs. González says: ‘I asked all the neighbors if they had seen it, but nothing. To this day, I don’t know anything about anything. During that time I asked around everywhere, I even asked a man who I didn’t know and who I didn’t talk to again; I didn’t know that he...’

Lack of knowledge verb (ignorar “to not know”) - no information - item 3

Carla recibe flores y cartas de amor secretas todos los días en la puerta de su casa. Hasta ahora no tiene idea de quién le manda estos regalos y no se le ocurre ninguna persona en especial. Ahora, le está contando la historia a una amiga.

Carla dice: “No sé quién es ni por qué lo hace. ¡Ya van veinte cartas! Yo ignoraba que él...

“Carla gets flowers and secret love letters every day at the door of her house. To this day, she has no idea of who is the sender of these gifts and doesn’t think about a specific person. Now, she is telling the story to a friend.

Carla says: ‘I don’t know who this person is and why he does it. There’s already twenty letters! I didn’t know that he...’”

Lack of knowledge verb (ignorar “to not know”) - no information - item 4

En el trabajo de Yuliana, están organizando un intercambio de regalos por Navidad. Cada uno tiene un amigo secreto que envía regalitos por adelantado sin revelar su nombre. Yuliana ya ha recibido varios regalitos hasta ahora.

Yuliana dice: “¡Qué generoso que es mi amigo secreto y yo sin saber quién es! Me muero de curiosidad por saber quién es! ¡Cuántas cosas ya me está enviando como regalitos! Yo ignoraba que él...

“In Yuliana’s work, people are organizing a gift exchange for Christmas. Each person has a secret friend who sends gifts without saying their names. Yuliana has already gotten many gifts.

Yuliana says: ‘What a generous person my secret friend is and I don’t know who he is! I’m very curious to know who this person is! How many things he’s already sent me as gifts! I didn’t know that he...’”

Fillers

1. Mauricio ha recibido la visita de un amigo en su casa y ahora le está mostrando el jardín que tienen en la parte de atrás de la casa.

Mauricio dice: “Todas las mañanas, salgo a respirar el aire puro del jardín y siempre veo muchos pajaritos volando entre los árboles. Siempre los escucho...

“Mauricio has received a visit by a friend at his home and now he is showing his friend the backyard garden.

Mauricio says: ‘Every morning, I go out to get some fresh air from the garden and I always see a lot of birds flying around the trees. I always hear them...’”

2. Lola va a comprar unos helados con su prima. Las dos están muy felices porque les encanta comer helados.

Lola dice: “Yo quiero pedir un helado de fresa, es mi sabor favorito. Cuando vengo a comprar con mi papá, siempre lo pido...”

“Lola is going to buy ice cream with her cousin. Both of them are happy because they love to eat ice cream.

Lola says: ‘I want to get strawberry ice cream, it’s my favorite flavor. When I come to buy with my dad, I always ask for...’”

3. Pedrito le comenta a su mamá que las vecinas están muy atareadas llevando y cargando cosas en la calle.

Pedrito dice: “Ya van dos días que están llevando cajas, parece que se van a mudar. En estos dos días, las he visto...”

“Pedrito tells his mom that their neighbors are really busy carrying things in the street.

Pedrito says: ‘It’s been two days since they started carrying those boxes, it seems like they are moving out. These days, I’ve seen them...’”

4. La señora Navarro ha ido al mercado con su nieta y se encuentra con una amiga. La amiga le pregunta por su nieta y la señora Navarro le contesta emocionada.

La señora Navarro dice: “Es muy linda, ¿no? Estoy muy contenta con mi nieta, es mi adoración. Todos los días, la llevo...”

“Mrs. Navarro is in the market with her granddaughter, and they run into a friend. Her friend asks about her granddaughter and Mrs. Navarro answers very happily.

Mrs. Navarro says: ‘Isn’t she cute? I’m very happy with my granddaughter, she is adorable. Every day, I take her...’”

5. Karina está tomando desayuno con su tío, que ha venido de viaje. Él está muy sorprendido de ver que Karina come mucho a pesar de ser flaquita.

Karina dice: “Me gusta mucho comer pan con mantequilla. Son muy ricos los panes así y me puedo comer varios. Cada día, los como...”

“Karina is having breakfast with her uncle, who is visiting. He is very surprised that Karina eats a lot even though she is really skinny.

Karina says: ‘I love to eat bread with butter. Bread is delicious like that and I can eat a lot of pieces. Every day, I eat them...’

6. Oscar se ha comprado una bicicleta y pasea muy orgulloso con ella. Un amigo lo ve y le pregunta por su bicicleta.

Oscar dice: “Le compré esta bicicleta a un amigo porque estaba sin usar en su casa. Ahora, todos los días salgo y la uso...”

“Oscar has bought a bike and is very proud riding on it. One of his friends sees him and asks about his bike.

Oscar says: ‘I bought this bike from a friend because he wasn’t using it. Now, every day I go out and use it...’

7. Bertha se está quejando de una señora que vive al frente de su casa porque hace mucha bulla. Ella quiere estudiar para sus exámenes, pero es imposible.

Bertha dice: “Esa señora es una escandalosa, le encanta gritar. Por ejemplo, le grita a su hijo menor, siempre lo llama...”

“Bertha is complaining about a lady who lives in front of her house because she is really noisy. Bertha wants to study for her exams, but it is impossible.

Bertha says: ‘That lady is so noisy, she loves to yell. For example, she yells at her youngest son, she always calls him...’

8. El señor Jiménez está planeando una fiesta y quiere invitar a todos sus amigos. Está pensando contar unas diez personas en la familia de su amigo Rodolfo.

El señor Jiménez dice: “Rodolfo siempre llega con toda la familia a las fiestas, tiene un montón de hijas. Para esta fiesta, es seguro que él las lleva...”

“Mr. Jiménez is planning a party and wants to invite all her friends. She is counting ten people in the family of his friend Rodolfo.

Mr. Jiménez says: ‘Rodolfo always comes with his whole family to parties, he has many daughters. For this party, I’m sure that he will bring them...’

9. La mamá de Irma vuelve de comprar y trae muchos paquetes. Irma le cuenta que el señor Gutiérrez también salió a comprar.

Irma dice: “Justo un rato después que te fuiste, me dijo que se iba a comprar también. Seguro que te lo encontraste...”

“Irma’s mom comes back from shopping and has a lot of packages. Her mom tells Irma that Mr. Gutiérrez was shopping too.

Irma says: ‘Yes, after you went out, he told me he was going shopping too. I’m sure that you ran into him...’

10. Héctor está ayudando a su hermana a ordenar la casa. Hay zapatos que su hermana quiere encontrar pero no aparecen todavía.

Héctor dice: “Hemos dado vueltas por toda la casa pero no están. De repente desaparecieron. Otro día los buscas...”

“Héctor is helping his sister to arrange things at home. His sister wants to find a pair of shoes but she hasn’t found them yet.

Hector says: ‘We’ve turned the house upside down but they’re not here. Maybe they disappeared. You can look for them another day...’

11. Dos amigos están conversando y uno de ellos ve una mancha en la camisa del otro. Los dos empiezan a examinar la mancha para saber cómo apareció allí. Uno de ellos dice: “Parece que tu camisa se hubiera pintado con un tinte. ¿Cuándo lavó tu mamá? Seguro la lavó...”

“Two friends are chatting and one of them sees a stain on the other one’s shirt. Both of them inspect the stain to know how it could have appeared there. One of them says: ‘It seems that your shirt has been stained with some ink. When did your mom do laundry? I’m sure she washed it...’”

12. Valeria le está mostrando su nuevo osito de peluche a su amiga. Le cuenta que va con él para todos lados y que está muy contenta. Valeria dice: “Todavía no sé qué nombre ponerle, pero estoy pensando. En las noches, cuando voy a dormir, lo pongo...”

“Valeria is showing her new stuffed bear to her friend. She says that she takes the bear everywhere and is very happy with it. Valeria says: ‘I don’t know what name to give it yet, but I’m thinking. At night, when I go to bed, I put it...’”

13. Gonzalo va a la costurera a preguntar por unos vestidos que su mamá encargó hace unos días. La costurera es una buena amiga de la familia. Gonzalo dice: “Mi mamá está preocupada por los vestidos. Dice que son para las chicas, para la fiesta que habrá la próxima semana. Quiere saber si los tienes...”

“Gonzalo goes to the dressmaker to ask for some dresses his mom ordered a few days ago. The dressmaker is a good friend of the family. Gonzalo says: ‘My mom is worried about the dresses. She says they’re for the girls, for the party next week. She wants to know if you have them...’”

14. Tomás le está contando a su familia del problema que tiene un amigo suyo. Hay un grupo de chicas que siempre lo buscan para molestarlo y él no puede salir a la calle.

Tomás dice: “El pobre ya está traumatado. No quiere salir a la calle así. Dice que se ha vuelto algo de todos los días. Cada vez que sale, las encuentra...”

“Tomás is telling his family about one of his friends’ problem. A bunch of girls are always bullying him and he can’t go out because of this.

Tomás says: ‘The poor guy is so scared. He doesn’t want to go out. He says it’s something that happens every day. Every time he goes out, he finds them...’

15. Dos amigas se encuentran y conversan sobre uno de los profesores que tuvieron cuando estaban en el colegio. Una de ellas vive cerca del colegio así que es fácil tener contacto con ellos aún.

Ella dice: “Todavía sigue trabajando en el colegio. ¿Te acuerdas de sus clases? A veces, cuando salgo a trabajar, lo veo...”

“Two friends meet and talk about one of their teachers from school. One of them lives close to the school where they used to study and it is even easy for her to keep contact with them.

She says: ‘That teacher is still working at the school. Do you remember his classes? Sometimes, when I go out to work, I see him...’

16. Una pareja de esposos está haciendo arreglos para el día de hoy. La hija pequeña de ambos tiene una fiesta de cumpleaños y uno de ellos tiene que encargarse de eso.

El esposo dice: “Yo puedo ir con Rosita a la fiesta, pero acuérdate que después, tengo que hacer un trabajo muy lejos de allí. Sería mejor si tú la recoges...”

“A couple is making plans for today. Their little daughter is invited to a birthday party and one of them has to be in charge of that.

The husband says: ‘I can take Rosita to the party, but remember that later, I have to do a job very far away from there. It would be better if you pick her up...’

17. Don Alberto regresa muy contento de la tienda donde arreglaron sus lentes. Su esposa quiere saber cómo le fue.

Don Alberto dice: “Ese señor que trabaja ahí en la tienda es muy bueno, sabe hacer su trabajo a la perfección. No sabes cómo los limpió...”

“Don Alberto comes back from the optician’s shop very happy because he got his glasses fixed. His wife wants to know how everything went.

Don Alberto says: ‘That guy who works over there is very good, he knows how to do his job perfectly. You don’t know how he cleaned them...’”

18. Una niña le cuenta a su madre sobre un espectáculo que vio en la plaza del pueblo en la mañana. En la plaza, un mago estaba demostrando sus habilidades con las cartas.

La niña dice: “Parecía que volaban en el aire, era increíble!! Yo no sabía bien cómo hacía este truco. En un momento, las hizo...”

“A little girl is telling his mother about a show she saw this morning in the town square. There was a magician showing his card tricks.

The girl says: ‘It seemed like cards were flying in the air, it was amazing! I didn’t know how he did it. In one instance, he made them...’”

19. Elba les cuenta a sus amigas que su abuela es una excelente cocinera. Sabe hacer todo tipo de platos, sobre todo cuando usa pimienta.

Elba dice: “No sé cuál es su secreto, nunca nos quiere decir, pero siempre le queda delicioso. Debe ser que siempre lo cocina...”

“Elba is telling her friends that her grandma is an excellent cook. She cooks all kinds of dishes, especially dishes with pepper.

Elba says: ‘I don’t know what her secret is, she doesn’t want to tell us but it’s always delicious. It must be that she always cooks it...’”

20. La hermana de Natalia se está quejando con ella de una vecina que tienen. La vecina es muy renegona y siempre le responde de mala manera.

La hermana de Natalia dice: “Yo no le he hecho nada, pero siempre es lo mismo. Ya me da miedo pasar por ahí. Todos los días, la saludo...”

“Natalia’s sister is complaining about their neighbor. That neighbor is very grumpy and always responds to her in a bad way.

Natalia’s sister says: ‘I haven’t done anything to her, but it is always the same. I’m even afraid of passing by her house. Every day, I say hello to her...’

21. Zoila se encuentra con una amiga y ve que tiene dos bebés que son gemelos. Su amiga le cuenta cómo es su vida ahora que es madre.

La amiga dice: “Es verdad que mi vida ha cambiado un montón en estos últimos meses. Ahora, tan luego me levanto en la mañana, los cambio...”

“Zoila meets a friend and sees that she has twin babies. Her friend tells Zoila about how her life is now that she is a mom.

Her friend says: ‘It’s true that my life has changed a lot these past months. Now, right after I wake up in the morning, I change them...’

22. Samuel está de visita en casa de un amigo y conversa con la hija mayor, que tiene ocho años. Ella tiene dos hermanitas más pequeñas.

Samuel dice: “Ustedes siempre están jugando juntas, no? Pero también veo que tú eres la más grande, qué bueno que siempre las cuidas...”

“Samuel is visiting a friend and is talking with the eldest daughter, who is eight years old. She has two younger sisters.

Samuel says: ‘You girls are always playing together, right? And you are the biggest, it’s good that you always take care of them...’

APPENDIX C
EXAMPLES OF PRODUCTION TASK SLIDES

Slides for monolingual groups

En este cuestionario, vas a leer y escuchar historias cortas que tienen una oración incompleta al final. Después de escuchar toda la historia que está en la pantalla, completa la oración oralmente.

Completa las oraciones con **lo primero que venga a tu cabeza, no necesitas pensarlo mucho.**

Para pasar a la siguiente historia, presiona ▼

Rosa llega a su casa muy tarde en la noche y encuentra a su hermano viendo televisión. Pregunta por su mamá y se entera que ya está durmiendo.

Su hermano dice: “Está molesta contigo. A las 5 se fue a comprar las cosas para tu fiesta del sábado. Te estuvo esperando un buen rato, porque ella quería que tú...



Slides for bilingual group

En este cuestionario, vas a leer y escuchar historias cortas que tienen una oración incompleta al final. También vas a ver a dos personas escuchando la mismas historias.

La niña de la izquierda escucha la historia incompleta en castellano y el niño de la derecha escucha la historia incompleta en quechua.



Después de escuchar toda la historia, tienes que leer y completar la parte roja. Como los dos niños no tienen esta parte final, debes decirla en los dos idiomas: castellano, primero, y después, quechua.

Completa las oraciones con **lo primero que venga a tu cabeza, no necesitas pensarlo mucho.**

Para pasar a la siguiente historia, presiona ▼

Rosa llega a su casa muy tarde en la noche y encuentra a su hermano viendo televisión. Pregunta por su mamá y se entera que ya está durmiendo.

Su hermano dice: “Está molesta contigo. A las 5 se fue a comprar las cosas para tu fiesta del sábado. Te estuvo esperando un buen rato, porque **ella quería que tú...**”



APPENDIX D

SPANISH PROFICIENCY TEST

Instructions for the first part

En el siguiente texto, algunas palabras fueron quitadas y aparecen espacios en blanco. Lee el texto y escoge cuál es la palabra correcta para llenar cada espacio según las tres opciones que aparecen en la hoja de respuestas. Marca con una X tu respuesta.

“In this text, some words are missing and there are many blanks. Read the text and choose what word is correct for each blank based on the three options presented in the answer sheet. Mark your answer with an X.”

¿Qué es la salsa?

La confusión que se suele producir sobre el nombre de la música afrocaribeña tiene que ver más con estrategias de mercado que con diferencias musicales. Desde que se ___1___ la palabra "salsa" a principios de los años 70, este término ha dado lugar a mucha controversia. Muchos músicos cubanos insistían en que la salsa no existía, ___2___ que era el "son" cubano disfrazado con propósitos comerciales, pero la salsa crearía tal impacto mundial que terminaría dándole legitimidad. Sin embargo, también ___3___ debe tener en cuenta que los músicos puertorriqueños tuvieron mucho que ver con la conservación y el desarrollo de esta música y que su interpretación realmente produjo ___4___ nuevo y distinto de lo que se tocaba en Cuba, es decir del son cubano.

Tampoco debemos olvidar, cuando se ___5___ de salsa, que todos estos ritmos están hechos ___6___ bailar. La importancia del baile en el Caribe no es ninguna novedad y ___7___ la llegada de los españoles, todos los textos de los cronistas están repletos de referencias a la cultura ___8___ de los americanos. Para los cubanos especialmente, la música y el baile ___9___ siempre un lugar muy importante dentro de la sociedad y de ello queda constancia en innumerables ensayos ___10___ estudian minuciosamente el

tema. Sin embargo, se puede considerar la segunda ____11____ del siglo XIX como la etapa crucial en la mezcla de géneros musicales procedentes ____12____ de África como de Europa.

En este mismo periodo y como producto de la influencia ejercida ____13____ el vals, el baile de pareja se había consolidado como el estilo ____14____ difundido en los salones. Así, Cuba entra en el siglo XX bailando danzón. Pero ____15____ cierto tiempo parece llegar el momento en que los bailarines ____16____ aburren de una música y buscan otra nueva. Primero, como se dijo, fue el danzón; luego cuando se puso pesado y aburrido, le incorporaron el danzote al ____17____ de la canción para hacerlo más alegre. Luego llegó el son oriental a principios de los años 30. Pero una vez más fue necesario que los músicos ____18____ nuevos ritmos y así se llegó al mambo en los 40, al chachachá en los 50 y así sucesivamente hasta llegar a los años 70 con el invento de la palabra "salsa". Esto llegó en un momento en ____19____ esta música vivía un periodo de enorme popularidad. Izzi Sanabria unió todos estos ritmos para que se ____20____ y de esta forma vender el concepto más fácilmente. De esta forma, la salsa se ha convertido en uno de los bailes más admirados y populares en todo el mundo.

Hoja de Respuestas

1) espacio 1

☐ a) creaba

☐ b) creó

☐ c) crearía

2) espacio 2

☐ a) sino

☐ b) pero

☐ c) sin embargo

3) espacio 3

☐ a) le

☐ b) la

☐ c) se

4) espacio 4

☐ a) algo

☐ b) algún

☐ c) alguno

5) espacio 5

☐ a) hablará

☐ b) hablaría

☐ c) habla

6) espacio 6

☐ a) por

☐ b) de

☐ c) para

7) espacio 7

☐ a) en

☐ b) desde

☐ c) de

8) espacio 8

☐ a) festival

☐ b) festiva

☐ c) fiesta

9) espacio 9

☐ a) han instalado

☐ b) han ocupado

☐ c) han puesto

10) espacio 10

☐ a) que

☐ b) cuyos

☐ c) quienes

11) espacio 11

☐ a) media

☐ b) mediana

☐ c) mitad

12) espacio 12

☐ a) tantos

☐ b) tanto

☐ c) tan

13) espacio 13

☐ a) por

☐ b) para

☐ c) hacia

14) espacio 14

☐ a) muy

☐ b) mucho

☐ c) más

15) espacio 15

☐ a) cada

☐ b) cualquier

☐ c) algún

16) espacio 16

☐ a) se

☐ b) les

☐ c) los

17) espacio 17

☐ a) finales

☐ b) último

☐ c) final

18) espacio 18

☐ a) ensayaron

☐ b) ensayaban

☐ c) ensayaran

19) espacio 19

☐ a) que

☐ b) cual

☐ c) cuando

20) espacio 20

☐ a) confundieran

☐ b) confunden

☐ c) confundirán

Instructions for the second part

En cada una de estas oraciones, hay una palabra o frase que falta en el espacio en blanco. Escoge cuál es la mejor respuesta de las opciones que aparecen debajo de cada oración.

“In each of the following sentences, there is a word or phrase missing in the blank. Choose what the best answer is from the options that are below each sentence.”

21) Al oír del accidente de su buen amigo, Paco se sintió _____.

- ☐ a) alegre
- ☐ b) cansado
- ☐ c) hambriento
- ☐ d) desconsolado

22) – ¿Has visto a Andrea?

– No está. Ayer me comentó que hoy _____ una conferencia en Lima.

- ☐ a) tenía
- ☐ b) tuvo
- ☐ c) tuviera
- ☐ d) había tenido

23) – Pero... ¿no hay _____ salón vacío?

– A ver, mira en el segundo piso.

- ☐ a) ninguna
- ☐ b) ningún
- ☐ c) ninguno
- ☐ d) alguno

24) Tuvo que quedarse en cama por estar _____.

- ☐ a) enfermo
- ☐ d) parado
- ☐ c) ocupado
- ☐ d) sucio

25) Al salir de la misa me sentía tan caritativo que lo primero que hice fue _____ a un pobre mendigo que había allí sentado.

- ☐ a) pegarle
- ☐ b) darle una limosna
- ☐ c) darle una mirada
- ☐ d) maldecir

26) – ¿Tenemos que hablar con ella hoy?

– Sí, _____ muy urgente.

- ☐ a) hay
- ☐ b) está
- ☐ c) es
- ☐ d) tiene

27) Siempre maltratado por los niños, el perro no podía acostumbrarse a _____ de sus nuevos dueños.

- ☐ a) las caricias
- ☐ b) los engaños
- ☐ c) las locuras
- ☐ d) los golpes

28) Gran aficionado a las obras teatrales, Juan se entristeció al saber _____ del gran actor.

- ☐ a) del éxito
- ☐ b) de la buena suerte
- ☐ c) de la alabanza
- ☐ d) del fallecimiento

29) He ganado un libro en el concurso del colegio _____ decir el nombre de 5 ríos de Latinoamérica.

- ☐ a) en
- ☐ b) a
- ☐ c) por
- ☐ d) para

30) – Mañana, _____ llegues a tu casa, me llamas.

– Sí, no te preocupes.

- ☐ a) desde que
- ☐ b) sin que
- ☐ c) en cuanto
- ☐ d) hasta que

31) – ¿Vamos a la ópera o al teatro?

– _____ quieras.

- ☐ a) Lo cual
- ☐ b) La que
- ☐ c) Que
- ☐ d) Lo que

32) – ¿Vas mucho a sus conciertos?

– Sí, _____ vienen a la ciudad.

☐ a) cada vez que

☐ b) ya que

☐ c) mientras

☐ d) nada más

33) Dónde estará mi cartera? La dejé aquí mismo hace poco y parece que el malcriado de mi hermano ha vuelto a _____.

☐ a) dejármela

☐ b) escondérmela

☐ c) deshacérmela

☐ d) acabármela

34) Se reunieron varias veces para efectuar un proyecto, pero no pudieron _____.

☐ a) desavenirse

☐ b) dejarlo de lado

☐ c) rechazarlo

☐ d) llevarlo a cabo

35) – ¿A qué hora llegaron a la biblioteca?

– No sé, porque cuando me fui, no _____ todavía.

☐ a) llegaban

☐ b) han llegado

☐ c) llegaron

☐ d) habían llegado

36) – ¿Van a comprar la casa?

– Depende _____ la decisión de Carmen.

☐ a) de

☐ b) a

☐ c) en

☐ d) con

37) La mujer no aprobó el cambio de domicilio pues no le gustaba _____.

☐ a) el chisme

☐ b) el barrio

☐ c) los vecinos

☐ d) la estación

38) – ¿_____ has prestado a Ana la plata?

– Sí, no era mucho.

☐ a) Lo

☐ b) La

☐ c) Le

☐ d) Se

39) – Te revisaré el presupuesto siempre que me lo _____ antes del martes.

– Ya, yo te lo envío.

☐ a) dieras

☐ b) des

☐ c) das

☐ d) darás

40) – Tienes mala cara.

– Es que estoy cansadísima, me voy a ir _____ vacaciones ya mismo.

☐ a) a

☐ b) de

☐ c) en

☐ d) para

APPENDIX E
EXAMPLES OF QUECHUA EVALUATIONS
(FROM DIFFERENT PARTICIPANTS)

1. Imataq sutyki?

Ñuqa sutyimi Reynaldo.

“What is your name?”

“My name is Reynaldo.”

2. May lawmanta qam kanki?

Kay Huamangamanta

“Where are you from?”

“I’m from here, Huamanga”

3. Maypi yachanki qamkuna?

Nazarenopi

“Where do you guys (you and your siblings) live?”

“In Nazareno”

4. Imatataq istudiyta yachasqanki?

Administración y economía

“Do you already know what you’ll study (after high school)?”

“Administration and economics”

5. May lawmanta mamaykiqa?

Mamayqa Tambo lawmanta

“Where is your mom from?”

“My mom is from Tambo.”

Taytaykiqa?

Taytayqa San Miguel lawmanta

“What about your dad?”

“My dad is from San Miguel.”

6. Taytaykiqa imapi trabajan?

Cosechan

“What does your dad do for a living?”

“He works in the farm.”

7. Kanchu chakraykichik?

Arí

“Do you guys (your family) have farms?”

“Yes”

8. Haykataq kanichkanku?

Pichqa

“How many people (siblings) do you have?”

“Five”

9. Haykataq qari? Haykataq warmi?

Iskay

“How many boys? And how many girls?”

“Two”

Iskay ima? Qari? Warma?

Qari

“Two what? Boys? Girls?”

“Boys”

10. Imataq llamkanki?

Achka kay llamkaykuna. Kafi, koka, chaykuna

“What do you guys (your family) do (harvest)?”

“A lot of things, coffee, coca, things like that”

APPENDIX F

ACCEPTABILITY JUDGMENT TASK

Items and fillers are presented in a summarized way, i.e. one story has two answers separated by a slash (/). In the acceptability judgment task, each story was presented twice, one with a past subjunctive answer (verbal form before the slash) and one with a present subjunctive answer (verbal form after the slash).

Fillers were also presented twice, with two different answers: a direct object (before the slash) or a second verb presented by the conjunction y “and” (after the slash).

Items

Factive-emotive verb (lamentar “to be sorry”) - past event - item 1

Ricardo le está contando a su hermano que una amiga de los dos fue a visitarlos hace unas horas, pero solo encontró a Ricardo. Su hermano estaba trabajando en ese momento. Ricardo dice: “Ella trajo fotos de su cumpleaños del sábado pasado. Cuando vi las fotos, me acordé lo bien que la pasé allí. Te la perdiste. Ella lamentó que tú no estuvieras/estés en la fiesta.

1 2 3 4 5

“Ricardo is telling his brother about a mutual friend who went to visit them a few hours ago, but only found Ricardo at home. His brother was working at that moment.

Ricardo says: ‘She brought pictures of her birthday party last Saturday. When I saw the pictures, I remembered how good the party was. You shouldn’t have missed it. She was sorry that you couldn’t be at the party.’”

Factive-emotive verb (lamentar “to be sorry”) – past event – item 2

Toda la familia de Jorge se iba de viaje a Trujillo hace dos meses. Pero cuando solo faltaban unos días para el viaje, Jorge se dobló el pie jugando fútbol y tuvieron que ponerle un yeso. Hoy, su mamá conversa con su vecina.

La mamá de Jorge dice: “Ya estaban comprados los pasajes, las maletas estaban hechas, todo. Lamenté que él se doblara/doble el pie.”

1 2 3 4 5

“Jorge’s whole family was going to travel to Trujillo two months ago. But when there were only few days left to start the trip, Jorge broke his foot playing soccer and had it in a plaster cast. Today, his mother is talking with her neighbor.

Jorge’s mother says: ‘Tickets were already bought, luggage was already prepared, everything. I was sorry that he broke his foot.’”

Factive-emotive verb (lamentar “to be sorry”) - past event - item 3

El hermano de Julio recibió una oferta para trabajar en otro país. Era un trabajo para ingenieros de la edad de su hermano, pero él no pudo tomar una decisión a tiempo, y le dieron el trabajo a otra persona.

Julio dice: “La señora que le ofreció el trabajo a mi hermano lo llamaba todos los días para preguntarle, pero él tenía miedo de irse a otro país. Al final, ella lamentó que él no aceptara/acepte el trabajo.”

1 2 3 4 5

“Julio’s brother got a job offer from abroad. It was a job for engineers like Julio’s brother, but he couldn’t make his decision on time and the position was given to someone else.

Julio says: ‘The lady that sent the job offer to my brother was calling him every day to know his decision, but he was afraid of going abroad. Finally, she was sorry that he didn’t accept the job.’”

Factive-emotive verb (lamentar “to be sorry”) - past event - item 4

Nadia le cuenta a su hermano menor cómo fue el recibimiento de sus abuelos en el aeropuerto. Ellos llegaron hoy a las 6 de la mañana y toda la familia fue a recogerlos, menos el hermano de Nadia.

Nadia dice: “Los abuelos estaban muy felices de venir a visitarnos. La abuela preguntó por ti y le dijimos que no pudiste ir. Ella lamentó que tú no estuvieras/estés allí.

1 2 3 4 5

“Nadia is telling her younger brother how their grandparents’ arrival at the airport was. They arrived today at 6 am and the whole family except Nadia’s brother went to pick them up.

Nadia says: ‘Grandpa and grandma were very happy to come visit us. Grandma asked about you and we told her you couldn’t go. She was sorry that you weren’t there.’”

Factive-emotive verb (alegrarse “to be happy”) - past event - item 1

El hijo menor de Mónica le está haciendo muchas preguntas a ella sobre su época de bebé. El quiere saber las cosas que hacía y lo que Mónica pensaba de él.

Mónica dice: “Tú eras un bebito muy lindo. Como todavía no sabías caminar, siempre gateabas mucho por toda la casa. Yo me alegraba de que tú gatearas/gatees tanto.

1 2 3 4 5

“Mónica’s youngest son is asking her about the time when he was a baby. He wants to know what things he used to do and what Mónica thought of him.

Mónica says: ‘You were such a pretty baby. Since you didn’t know how to walk yet, you were always crawling around the house. I was happy that you crawled so much’”

Factive-emotive verb (alegrarse “to be happy”) - past event - item 2

Lucía y su hermana se están acordando de cuando eran niñas y jugaban voley en la calle. Hace muchos años que dejaron de jugar.

Lucía dice: “¿Te acuerdas que jugábamos contra los chicos de la otra calle? Había una chica en ese grupo que te caía mal. Tú siempre te alegrabas de que ella no jugara/juegue.

1 2 3 4 5

“Lucía and her sister are remembering the time when they were little girls and used to play volleyball in the street. They stopped playing many years ago.

Lucía says: ‘Remember when we used to play against the kids from the other street? There was a girl in that group that you didn’t like. You were always happy when she wasn’t able to play.’”

Factive-emotive verb (alegrarse “to be happy”) - past event - item 3

Juanita siempre ha tenido problemas con el curso de Matemática y este año ha sido difícil para ella. Pero la profesora le mandó tarea extra para practicar más. Hoy, la mamá de Juanita ha ido a conversar con la profesora.

La profesora dice: “Juanita se ha esforzado mucho este año y creo que ha mejorado muchísimo en sus notas. ¡Ella sacó una muy buena nota en el último examen! Me alegré de que ella mejorara/mejore tanto.

1 2 3 4 5

“Juanita has always found Math class difficult and this year has been tough for her. But the teacher gave her extra work so she could practice more. Today, Juanita’s mom is talking with the teacher.

The teacher says: ‘Juanita has made so much effort this year and I think she’s improved her grades very much. She got an excellent grade on her last exam! I was happy that she improved a lot.’”

Factive-emotive verb (alegrarse “to be happy”) - past event - item 4

Susanita está mirando fotos con su mamá y preguntándole por las cosas que hacía cuando era una niñita pequeña. Ellas están viendo fotos de Susanita dando sus primeros pasos.

Susanita dice: “Mira, mamá, aquí estoy caminando, seguro que solo podía caminar unos pasitos. Y en estas fotos tú estás mirándome muy sonriente. Te alegrabas de que yo diera/dé mis primeros pasitos.”

1 2 3 4 5

Susanita is looking at pictures with her mom and asking her about things she used to do when she was a little girl. There are some pictures of Susanita taking her first steps.

Susanita says: ‘Look, mom, I’m walking here, I bet I could only take a few steps. And in these pictures, you are looking at me with a smile on your face. You were happy that I was taking my first steps.’”

Factive-emotive verb (lamentar “to be sorry”) - present event - item 1

Nora regresa a su casa tarde y su hermana le cuenta que unos tíos llegaron a recoger las invitaciones para el matrimonio de Nora.

Su hermana dice: “La tía Bertha se sorprendió al ver que el matrimonio va a ser en diciembre. Dice que ellos se van de viaje para esa época. La tía lamentó que tú te fueras/vayas a casar ese mes.”

1 2 3 4 5

“Nora comes back home really late and her sister tells her that their aunt and uncle came to pick up their invitations to Nora’s wedding.

Her sister says: ‘Aunt Bertha was surprised that your wedding is in December. She says that they will be traveling by that time. She was sorry that you were getting married in that month.’”

Factive-emotive verb (lamentar “to be sorry”) - present event - item 2

La secretaria del señor Torres está conversando con otro trabajador y le cuenta que el señor Torres trató muy mal a una mujer que se reunió con él ayer.

La secretaria dice: “La mujer salió muy molesta de la oficina del señor Torres. Parece que él le dijo cosas muy feas. Ella lamentó que él la tratara/trate tan mal.”

1 2 3 4 5

“Mr. Torres’ secretary was talking to a colleague and tells him that Mr. Torres treated a woman with whom he met yesterday really badly.

The secretary says: ‘The woman left very upset from Mr. Torres’ office. It seems that he said awful things. She was sorry that he treated her so badly.’”

Factive-emotive verb (lamentar “to be sorry”) - present event - item 3

Sandro forma parte del equipo de fútbol del barrio y ha entrenado con ellos para el campeonato del fin de semana. Lamentablemente, hace unos días sufrió una lesión y no podrá jugar. Uno de sus compañeros de equipo está conversando con él.

El compañero de Sandro dice: “Ayer me contaron de tu lesión, me sorprendió mucho, porque no vas a poder jugar. Lamenté que tú te lesionaras/lesiones así.

1 2 3 4 5

“Sandro is part of the soccer team of his neighborhood and has been training with them for the tournament this weekend. Unfortunately, he injured himself a few days ago and won’t be able to play. One of his teammates is talking with him.

Sandro’s teammate says: ‘I found out about your injury yesterday, I was really surprised because you won’t be able to play. I was sorry that you were injured like that.’”

Factive-emotive verb (lamentar “to be sorry”) - present event - item 4

Valeria y su hermana están discutiendo sobre sus planes para el fin de semana. Valeria está tratando de recordar la conversación que tuvieron las dos el día anterior para que su hermana no le cambie los planes hoy.

Valeria dice: “Ayer te dije que no podré ir a comprar el sábado. Te dije que tendrás que ir sola y tú lamentaste que yo no pudiera/pueda acompañarte.

1 2 3 4 5

“Valeria and her sister are talking about their weekend plans. Valeria is trying to remember their conversation from last night because she doesn’t want her sister to change plans today.

Valeria says: ‘Yesterday I told you that I can’t go shopping on Saturday. I told you to go by yourself and you were sorry that I couldn’t go with you.’”

Factive-emotive verb (alegrarse “to be happy”) - present event - item 1

Laura conversa por teléfono con su hija que está en otro país. Laura le cuenta que estuvo hablando con algunos familiares hace unos días.

Laura dice: “Le dije a tu abuelita que estás muy bien y que vas a venir a visitarnos pronto. Ella se alegró de que tú vinieras/vengas pronto.

1 2 3 4 5

“Laura talks on the phone with her daughter, who is abroad. Laura tells her that she was talking with some relatives a few days ago.

Laura says: ‘I told your grandma that you are doing fine and will come to visit us soon. She was happy that you were coming soon.’”

Factive-emotive verb (alegrarse “to be happy”) - present event - item 2

Gonzalo le está contando a su papá de lo que pasó en el colegio hoy. Le dice que la profesora les preguntó por el trabajo grupal que tienen que hacer y si ya saben quiénes los van a ayudar con eso.

Gonzalo dice: “Le contamos a la profesora que le hemos pedido ayuda al señor Rosales y que él nos va ayudar la próxima semana. Ella se alegró de que él nos fuera/vaya a ayudar.

1 2 3 4 5

“Gonzalo is telling his father about what happened at school today. He says that his teacher asked about the group work they have to do and if they know who is going to help them.

Gonzalo says: ‘We told our teacher that we’ve asked Mr. Rosales for help and he is going to help us next week. She was happy that he was going to help us.’”

Factive-emotive verb (alegrarse “to be happy”) - present event - item 3

La mamá de Antonio le está contando que se encontró con la madrina de Antonio hace dos días. Su madrina le regaló un par de zapatillas nuevas y Antonio ha empezado a usarlas hace poco.

La mamá de Antonio dice: “Le conté que todos los viernes vas a jugar fútbol con tus nuevas zapatillas y ella se alegró de que tú usaras/uses las zapatillas.”

1 2 3 4 5

“Antonio’s mom is telling him that she ran into Antonio’s godmother two days ago. His godmother gave him a pair of new tennis shoes and he has begun using them recently.

Antonio’s mom says: ‘I told her that every Friday you go to play soccer with your new tennis shoes and she was happy that you were wearing those tennis shoes.’”

Factive-emotive verb (alegrarse “to be happy”) - present event - item 4

Víctor está contándole a un amigo sobre su encuentro con una amiga de la infancia. Víctor y su amiga se volvieron a ver después de muchos años y se contaron muchas historias.

Víctor dice: “Ella me contó que está trabajando mucho y le gusta mucho su trabajo. Por eso, me alegré de que ella estuviera/esté tan contenta.”

1 2 3 4 5

“Víctor is telling a friend about his reunion with a childhood friend. Víctor and his friend saw each other again after many years and told each other many stories.

Víctor says: ‘She told me that she is working a lot and likes her job very much. Thus, I was happy that she was so happy.’”

Desire verb (querer “to want”) - past event - item 1

Rosa llega a su casa muy tarde en la noche y encuentra a su hermano viendo televisión. Pregunta por su mamá y se entera que ya está durmiendo.

Su hermano dice: “Está molesta contigo. A las 5 se fue a comprar las cosas para tu fiesta del sábado. Te estuvo esperando un buen rato, porque ella quería que tú la acompañaras/acompañes.”

1 2 3 4 5

“Rosa gets home late at night and finds her brother watching TV. She asks for her mother and he tells her that she is already sleeping.

Rosa's brother says: ‘Mom is mad at you. At 5, she went to buy stuff for your Saturday party. She was waiting for you for a long time, because she wanted you to go with her.’”

Desire verb (querer “to want”) - past event - item 2

Alicia es fanática de un cantante muy famoso y una tienda de la ciudad de Alicia ha anunciado la presentación del cantante hoy. Cuando Alicia llega con su cuaderno y un lápiz a la tienda, le dicen que el cantante ya se fue.

Alicia dice: “No puede ser! Esta era la única oportunidad que tenía de verlo! Yo quería que él me firmara/firme un autógrafo.”

1 2 3 4 5

“Alicia is a big fan of a very famous singer, and a store in Alicia's town has announced the singer's presentation today. When Alicia arrives there with her notebook and her pencil, people in the store tell her that the singer has already left.

Alicia says: ‘No, that's not possible! This was my only opportunity for me to see him! I wanted him to sign an autograph for me.’”

Desire verb (querer “to want”) - past event - item 3

Andrea está vendiendo rifas para un evento de su colegio y va a la casa del señor López a ofrecer unas cuantas. Andrea piensa que va a vender muchas allí porque el señor López

se ganó la lotería hace poco y tiene mucho dinero. Pero la esposa del señor le dice que ya no tienen plata.

Andrea dice: “¡Ay qué pena! O sea que el señor López ya se gastó todo lo que ganó en la lotería! Yo quería que él me comprara/compre algunos boletos.

1 2 3 4 5

“Andrea is selling raffle tickets for a fundraising event of her school and goes to offer some tickets at Mr. López’s house. Andrea thinks Mr. López will buy many tickets because he won the lottery not that long ago and has a lot of money. But Mrs. López says they don’t have money anymore.

Andrea says: ‘What a pity! So Mr. López spent all his lottery money already! I wanted him to buy some of my tickets.’”

Desire verb (querer “to want”) - past event - item 4

La mamá de Paola es costurera y siempre ayuda con arreglos de última hora a sus vecinos, pero hoy salió todo el día a hacer compras. Cuando regresa a su casa muy tarde en la noche, Paola le cuenta que una vecina vino a buscarla con mucho apuro.

Paola dice: “Ella tenía un matrimonio hoy día y justo se le descosió el vestido que se iba a poner. Estaba desesperada porque ya no tenía mucho tiempo. Ella quería que tú le arreglaras/arregles el vestido.

1 2 3 4 5

“Paola’s mom is a dressmaker and is always helping neighbors when they need last minute tailoring, but today she went out to buy groceries. When she gets back home really late at night, Paola tells her that a neighbor wanted to see her urgently.

Paola says: ‘The lady was going to a wedding today and found out that her dress had come unstitched. She was desperate because she was running out of time. She wanted you to fix it.’”

Desire verb (desear “to wish”) - past event - item 1

Arturo conversa con su pequeña hija, a quien le gusta que siempre le cuenten sus travesuras de cuando era más chiquita. Ella siempre pregunta lo mismo y Arturo responde con mucha paciencia.

La niña dice: “Papá, ¿te acuerdas que yo siempre corría por toda la casa? ¿qué pensabas cuando yo hacía eso? ¿te acuerdas que yo no podía alcanzar las cosas de la mesa así como ahora? Y yo deseaba que tú me ayudaras/ayudes.

1 2 3 4 5

“Arturo is talking with his little daughter, who always likes him to tell her about the time when she was younger. She always asks the same things and Arturo answers patiently.

The girl says: ‘Dad, do you remember when I used to run all over the house? What were you thinking when I used to that? Do you remember that I couldn't reach things on the table like I can now? And I wished that you could help me.’”

Desire verb (desear “to wish”) - past event - item 2

Rocío y su hermana están recordando la época en la que vivían en un pueblo muy lejos de donde viven ahora. Se acuerdan de un viejito que siempre visitaba a la familia y les llevaba dulces de regalo.

Rocío dice: “Ese señor siempre llegaba a la casa, sobre todo los fines de semana. Los sábados yo siempre me despertaba feliz pensando que llegaría pronto. Yo deseaba que él nos trajera/traiga más dulces.

1 2 3 4 5

“Rocío and her sister are remembering the time when they used to live in a town very far away from where they live now. They remember an old man who used to visit them and bring them candies.

Rocío says: ‘That man always went to our house, particularly on the weekends. Every Saturday, I used to wake up happy thinking that he would be home soon. I wished that he could bring us more candies.’

Desire verb (desear “to wish”) - past event - item 3

La familia de Gustavo se va de paseo la próxima semana y él está pensando invitar a su amigo Bruno al paseo. Por eso, Gustavo ha ido a la casa de Bruno para pedirle permiso a su mamá y contarle los detalles del paseo.

Gustavo dice: “Si le da permiso a Bruno, déjelo ir a la piscina con nosotros también por favor. El año pasado, la mamá de Diego no le mandó su ropa de baño porque ella deseaba que él no se bañara/baÑe.

1 2 3 4 5

“Gustavo’s family is going to the country club next week and he wants to invite Bruno. Thus, Gustavo is at Bruno’s house to ask his mom to let him go; he is also telling her about their plans for the country club visit.

Gustavo says: ‘If you let Bruno go, please let him get in the pool with us. Last year, Diego’s mom didn’t give him his swimsuit because she wished that he wouldn’t get into the pool.’

Desire verb (desear “to wish”) - past event - item 4

El hermano de Marita canta muy bien y ella está segura de que podría ganar el concurso de canto de la ciudad. El problema es que el último día para inscribirse al concurso fue la semana pasada y los dos se acaban de enterar de esto cuando llegan a la Municipalidad a inscribirse.

Marita dice: “¡No puede ser! ¡No nos enteramos de esto a tiempo! Yo deseaba que tú participaras/participes en el concurso.

1 2 3 4 5

“Marita’s brother sings really well and she is sure that he could win the city’s singing contest. The problem is that the deadline to sign up for the contest was last week and they just found out when they got to the City Hall to sign up.

Marita says: ‘Oh no! We didn’t get the information on time! I wished that you participate in the contest.’”

Desire verb (querer “to want”) - present event - item 1

Tomás regresa a su casa después del trabajo y encuentra un paquete de libros en la mesa del comedor. Su esposa le cuenta que un vecino los dejó allí en la tarde.

Su esposa dice: “Vino el señor Martínez y preguntó por ti, pensaba que tú ya habías regresado del trabajo. Te trajo esos libros, porque sabe que te gusta la filosofía. El quería que tú los leyeras/leas.

1 2 3 4 5

“Tomás goes back home after work and finds a package of books on the dining room table. His wife tells him that one of their neighbors left the books there in the afternoon.

His wife says: ‘Mr. Martínez came to visit and asked for you, thinking you were already coming home from work. He brought you those books, because he knows you like philosophy. He wanted you to read them.’”

Desire verb (querer “to want”) - present event - item 2

Fernando llega a su casa y encuentra a sus hermanos prendiendo unas velas. Ellos le cuentan que hubo un apagón repentino y toda la casa se quedó a oscuras. Cuando Fernando pregunta por su mamá, le dicen que ha salido hace rato.

Uno de sus hermanos dice: “Se fue a la casa de doña Olga. Parece que allí tienen el teléfono de un electricista. Ella quería que él viniera/venga a ver el problema.

1 2 3 4 5

“Fernando gets home and finds his brothers lighting some candles. They tell him that there was a sudden blackout and the whole house was left in darkness. When Fernando asks for her mother, they tell him that she has left a while ago.

One of his brothers says: ‘She went to Mrs. Olga's house. It seems that they have the electrician's number there. She wanted him to come see the problem.’”

Desire verb (querer “to want”) - present event - item 3

Un tío de Luchito estuvo de visita hace unas horas y la familia entera se alegró porque el tío viene muy pocas veces al pueblo. El hermano de Luchito no estaba en casa cuando llegó el tío y no lo pudo ver. Ahora, Luchito le cuenta a su hermano sobre la visita.

Luchito dice: “El tío dejó un montón de cosas para nosotros, incluso una cámara de fotos. El sabe que a ti te gustan muchos las cámaras, así que él quería que tú la usaras/uses.

1 2 3 4 5

“Luchito’s uncle came to visit a few hours ago and the whole family was happy because this uncle does not visit them very often. Luchito’s brother wasn’t at home on that moment and couldn’t see his uncle. Now, Luchito is telling his brother about the uncle’s visit.

Luchito says: ‘He left a lot of stuff for us, even a camera. He knows you like cameras very much, so he wanted you to use it.’”

Desire verb (querer “to want”) - present event - item 4

Marco regresa a su casa del colegio y le cuenta a su mamá que uno de sus amigos va a celebrar su cumpleaños. Este amigo sabe que Marco tiene una pelota de fútbol nueva y tiene muchas ganas de probarla.

Marco dice: “El estuvo hablando todo el día de su cumpleaños, está pensando hacer un partido de fútbol ese día para celebrar. Me estuvo hablando todo el rato sobre mi pelota nueva, él quería que yo la llevara/lleve ese día.

1 2 3 4 5

“Marco comes back from school and tells his mom that one of his friends is having a birthday party soon. This friend knows that Marco has a new soccer ball and would love to use it.

Marco says: ‘He was talking about his birthday party the whole day, he wants to play a soccer game on that day to celebrate. He was talking about my new soccer ball, he wanted me to bring it on that day.’”

Desire verb (desear “to wish”) - present event - item 1

Lucía va a la casa de sus primos para ayudar a organizar la fiesta de cumpleaños de la abuela. Cuando llega, ve que hay muchos ingredientes y alimentos por toda la cocina y la gente está muy ocupada limpiando todo.

Uno de los primos de Lucía dice: ‘Mi mamá salió un rato a comprar las últimas cosas que faltan, pero dejó todas las cosas listas para la salsa huancaína. Ella deseaba que tú la prepararas/prepares.

1 2 3 4 5

“Lucía goes to her cousins' house to help them organize their grandma's birthday party. When she gets there, she sees a lot of ingredients and food all over the kitchen, and people are busy cleaning everything.

One of her cousins says: ‘My mother went to buy some stuff that we need, but she left all the ingredients ready for the sauce. She wished that you could make it.’”

Desire verb (desear “to wish”) - present event - item 2

Manuel va a recoger unos dibujos que su hermana ha mandado a hacer a un dibujante profesional. Estos dibujos todavía no están terminados pero les falta muy poco. Cuando su hermana ve los dibujos, piensa que no son tan bonitos como ella imaginaba.

Manuel dice: “Pero ¿por qué no te gustan? Ese dibujante es muy bueno. Yo creo que se ven bonitos así en blanco y negro. Ya sé! Tú deseabas que él los hiciera/haga a color.

1 2 3 4 5

“Manuel picks up some drawings that his sister has asked a professional draftsman to do. These drawings are not done yet, but almost. When his sister sees the drawings, she thinks they are not as good as she thought they were going to be.

Manuel says: ‘But why you don’t like them? That draftsman is very good. I think the drawings look good black and white. I know! You wished that he would make them in color.’”

Desire verb (desear “to wish”) - present event - item 3

Gabriela ha preparado galletas con una nueva receta. Las preparó especialmente porque su tía favorita va a visitar su casa, pero su mamá le dice que su tía ha postergado la visita para dentro de una semana.

Gabriela dice: “¡Qué pena! Me he pasado tanto tiempo preparando estas galletas, pero no van a durar tanto tiempo. Yo deseaba que ella las probara/pruebe.

1 2 3 4 5

“Gabriela has baked cookies with a new recipe. She baked them especially because her favorite aunt is going to visit them. However, her mom tells her that her aunt has postponed her visit for next week.

Gabriela says: ‘What a pity! I’ve spent a lot of time baking these cookies, but they won’t last that long. I wished that she tastes them.’”

Desire verb (desear “to wish”) - present event - item 4

Dos amigas están comentando sobre las cosas que les gustan a sus mamás. Una de ellas dice que a su mamá le gusta llevarla a la iglesia a cantar en el coro de niños. La otra amiga se sorprende de enterarse de esto.

Ella dice: “¡Qué coincidencia! Mi mamá y yo vimos un coro de niños hace unas semanas en la iglesia y ella se puso a averiguar cuándo se reúnen a ensayar. Ella deseaba que yo participara/participe en el coro.

1 2 3 4 5

“Two friends are talking about things their moms like. One of them says that her mom likes to take her to church to sing in the children’s cho. The other girl is surprised by this.

She says: ‘What a coincidence! My mom and I saw a children’s choir some weeks ago at church and she was asking when they get together to rehearse. She wished that I participate in the choir activities.’”

Lack of knowledge verb (ignorar “not to know”) - all information - item 1

Teresa y Carolina están hablando sobre un chico que conocieron hace un tiempo. Teresa dice que se encontró con este chico la semana pasada y hablaron un rato.

Teresa dice: “Me preguntó muchas cosas de ti y yo le conté que en tu casa viven nueve personas, él no sabía casi nada de ti! Por eso, él ignoraba que tú tuvieras/tengas una familia numerosa.

1 2 3 4 5

“Teresa and Carolina are talking about a guy that they met some time ago. Teresa says that she ran into this guy last week and they talked for a while.

Teresa says: ‘He asked me a lot of things about you and I told him that there’s nine people living in your house, he didn’t know hardly anything about you! For that reason, he didn’t know that you had a big family.’”

Lack of knowledge verb (ignorar “not to know”) - all information - item 2

Elena y su amiga se ven después de mucho tiempo y se están contando las novedades de las últimas semanas.

Elena dice: “El otro día me encontré con tu mamá y me contó que estuviste leyendo la biografía de esa pintora famosa, yo no sé nada de ella! Tu mamá me dijo que has leído mucho sobre los deportes que le gustaban, por ejemplo, tú ignorabas que ella fuera/sea una fanática del fútbol.

1 2 3 4 5

“Elena and her friend met after a long time and they are talking about the news from the past weeks.

Elena says: ‘I ran into your mom the other day and she told me you were reading the biography of that famous painter, I don’t know anything about her! Your mom said that you have read a lot about the sports she liked; for example, you didn’t know that she was a football fan.’”

Lack of knowledge verb (ignorar “not to know”) - all information - item 3

Ursula conoció al primo de una de sus amigas hace unos días y hoy le está contando a ella lo que habló con el primo.

Ursula dice: “El me contó muchas cosas de ti que yo no sabía. Por ejemplo, me dijo que te daba miedo ir al médico cuando eras niña. Yo ignoraba que tú tuvieras/tengas miedo de ir.

1 2 3 4 5

“Ursula met one of her friend’s cousins a few days ago and today she is telling her friend what she talked about with her cousin.

Ursula says: ‘He told me many things about you that I didn’t know. For example, he said that you were afraid of going to the doctor when you were a little girl. I didn’t know that you were afraid of going.’”

Lack of knowledge verb (ignorar “not to know”) - all information - item 4

Daniel le cuenta a su esposa que se encontró con una chica que fue su vecina hace muchos años. Daniel y la chica conversaron por un buen rato y se contaron las últimas novedades de sus vidas.

Daniel dice: “¡No sabes cuántos lugares ha conocido ella, siempre está viajando! Y yo le conté que compramos esta casa cuando nos casamos. Ella ignoraba que yo estuviera/esté casado.

1 2 3 4 5

“Daniel tells his wife that he ran into a girl that was his neighbor many years ago. Daniel and the girl chatted for a while and talked about the recent events in their lives.

Daniel says: ‘She has visited so many places, she is always traveling! And I told her that we bought this house when we got married. She didn’t know that I was married.’”

Lack of knowledge verb (ignorar “not to know”) - little information - item 1

María y Juan han sido amigos desde niños. Ellos están hablando sobre los juegos que jugaban hace muchos años.

María se acuerda que ellos siempre jugaban en la casa de ella, pero nunca entraban a la casa de Juan. María dice: “Yo nunca fui a tu casa, no sabía qué juegos tenías allí!! Yo ignoraba que tú tuvieras/tengas un Nintendo.

1 2 3 4 5

“María and Juan have been friends since they were kids. They are talking about the games that they used to play many years ago.

María remembers that they always used to play in her house, but never in his. She says: ‘I never went to your house, I didn’t know what games you had there! I didn’t know that you had a Nintendo.’”

Lack of knowledge verb (ignorar “not to know”) - little information - item 2

El señor Rodríguez está contando sus recuerdos de colegio a sus nietos. Les está hablando de Marco, uno de sus mejores amigos en la secundaria.

El señor Rodríguez dice: “Desde que salimos del colegio, no he sabido nada más de Marco. El era bien buena gente pero a veces no quería contar nada sobre su familia y nunca supe mucho de ellos. Por ejemplo, yo ignoraba que él se llevara/lleve mal con sus hermanos.

1 2 3 4 5

“Mr. Rodríguez is telling his school memories to his grandchildren. He is talking about Marco, one of his best friends in high school.

Mr. Rodríguez says: ‘Since we finished high school, I haven’t heard of Marco. He was a very nice person but sometimes didn’t want to talk about his family; I never knew much about them. For example, I didn’t know that he didn’t get along with his brothers.’”

Lack of knowledge verb (ignorar “not to know”) - little information - item 3

Pablito está comentando con su mamá sobre la fiesta a la que fueron hace unos días. Fue una fiesta en casa de una amiga de Pablito, a la que su mamá no conocía mucho.

Pablito dice: “Yo ya te había contado de su colección de muñecos de peluche, ¿te gustaron? Pero no sabías casi nada de cómo llegaron esos muñecos a su casa. Por ejemplo, tú ignorabas que ella ahorrara/ahorre tanto para comprarlos.

1 2 3 4 5

“Pablito is talking with his mom about a party that they went to a few days ago. It was a party organized by one of Pablito’s friend, who his mom did not know very well.

Pablito says: ‘I had already told you about her collection of stuffed animals, did you like it? But you didn’t know hardly anything about how she got all those stuffed animals. For example, you didn’t know that she saved so much to buy them.’”

Lack of knowledge verb (ignorar “not to know”) - little information - item 4

El señor Velásquez es cocinero y a veces prepara comida para fiestas. Cuando el señor Velásquez llega a su casa, su hijo le dice que lo llamó una señora que quiere hacer un pedido de comida para el sábado.

Su hijo dice: “Me preguntó por el precio de las comidas principales. Yo le dije también que podías preparar otro tipo de comidas. Por ejemplo, ella ignoraba que tú prepararas/prepares postres.

1 2 3 4 5

“Mr. Velásquez is a cook and sometimes cooks for parties. When Mr. Velásquez gets home, his son tells her that a lady called asking to make a cooking order for Saturday.

His son says: ‘She asked me about the prices of the main dishes. I told her that you could cook other types of dishes too. For example, she didn’t know that you made desserts too.’”

Lack of knowledge verb (ignorar “not to know”) - no information - item 1

La semana pasada, un hombre le pidió dinero insistentemente a Carlos en la calle a pesar de que nunca se habían visto. Carlos estaba muy fastidiado con el hombre. Hoy, los dos se han encontrado sorpresivamente.

Carlos dice: “Otra vez te encuentro! Tú no me dejas caminar tranquilo! Yo nunca en mi vida te había visto, no sé nada de nada de ti o de tu vida, yo ignoraba que tú fueras/seas tan pesado.

1 2 3 4 5

“Last week, a man asked Carlos for money repeatedly although they had never seen each other. Carlos was very upset because of that man. Today, they have met unexpectedly.

Carlos says: ‘I meet you again! You just don’t let me walk! I’d never seen you before, I don’t know anything about you or your life, I didn’t know that you were so annoying.’”

Lack of knowledge verb (ignorar “not to know”) - no information - item 2

La señora González está hablando acerca de la desaparición de su mascota hace dos años. Después de tanto tiempo, ella todavía no sabe qué fue lo que pasó exactamente ese día y no tiene ninguna idea de cómo pudo desaparecer el perrito.

La señora González dice: “Pregunté a todos los vecinos si lo habían visto, pero nada. Hasta ahora no sé nada de nada. En esa época fui a todos lados a preguntar, incluso donde

un hombre que no conocía y con el que no volví a hablar nunca, yo ignoraba que él tuviera/tenga alguna información.

1 2 3 4 5

“Mrs. González is talking about how her pet disappeared two years ago. After such a long time, she doesn’t know yet what happened exactly and has no idea about how the dog could have disappeared.

Mrs. González says: ‘I asked all the neighbors if they had seen it, but nothing. To this day, I don’t know absolutely anything. During that time I asked around everywhere, I even asked a man who I didn’t know and who I didn’t talk to again; I didn’t know that he could have information.’”

Lack of knowledge verb (ignorar “not to know”) - no information - item 3

Carla recibe flores y cartas de amor secretas todos los días en la puerta de su casa. Hasta ahora no tiene idea de quién le manda estos regalos y no se le ocurre ninguna persona en especial. Ahora, le está contando la historia a una amiga.

Carla dice: “No sé quién es ni por qué lo hace. ¡Ya van veinte cartas! Yo ignoraba que él fuera/sea tan insistente.

1 2 3 4 5

“Carla gets flowers and secret love letters every day at the door of her house. To this day, she has no idea of who is the sender of these gifts and doesn’t think about a specific person. Now, she is telling the story to a friend.

Carla says: ‘I don’t know who this person is and why he does it. There’s already twenty letters! I didn’t know that he was so insistent.’”

Lack of knowledge verb (ignorar “not to know”) - no information - item 4

En el trabajo de Yuliana, están organizando un intercambio de regalos por Navidad. Cada uno tiene un amigo secreto que envía regalitos por adelantado sin revelar su nombre. Yuliana ya ha recibido varios regalitos hasta ahora.

Yuliana dice: “¡Qué generoso que es mi amigo secreto y yo sin saber quién es! Me muero de curiosidad por saber quién es! ¡Cuántas cosas ya me está enviando como regalitos! Yo ignoraba que él fuera/sea tan amable.

1 2 3 4 5

“In Yuliana’s work, people are organizing a gift exchange for Christmas. Each person has a secret friend who sends gifts without saying their names. Yuliana has already gotten many gifts.

Yuliana says: ‘What a generous person my secret friend is and I don’t know who he is! I’m very curious to know who this person is! How many things he’s already sent me as gifts! I didn’t know that he was so kind.’”

Fillers

1. Mauricio ha recibido la visita de un amigo en su casa y ahora le está mostrando el jardín que tienen en la parte de atrás de la casa.

Mauricio dice: “Todas las mañanas, salgo a respirar el aire puro del jardín y siempre veo muchos pajaritos volando entre los árboles. Siempre los escucho a los pajaritos/y los saludo.”

1 2 3 4 5

“Mauricio has received a visit by a friend at his home and now he is showing his friend the backyard garden.

Mauricio says: ‘Every morning, I go out to get some fresh aire from the garden and I always see a lot of birds flying around the trees. I always hear them the birds/and say hello to them.’”

2. Lola va a comprar unos helados con su prima. Las dos están muy felices porque les encanta comer helados.

Lola dice: “Yo quiero pedir un helado de fresa, es mi sabor favorito. Cuando vengo a comprar con mi papá, siempre lo pido el helado/y lo disfruto.”

1 2 3 4 5

“Lola is going to buy ice cream with her cousin. Both of them are happy because they love to eat ice cream.

Lola says: ‘I want to get strawberry ice cream, it’s my favorite flavor. When I come to buy with my dad, I always ask for it the ice cream/and enjoy it.’”

3. Pedrito le comenta a su mamá que las vecinas están muy atareadas llevando y cargando cosas en la calle.

Pedrito dice: “Ya van dos días que están llevando cajas, parece que se van a mudar. En estos dos días, las he visto a las vecinas/y las he saludado.”

1 2 3 4 5

“Pedrito tells his mom that their neighbors are really busy carrying things in the street.

Pedrito says: ‘It’s been two days since they started carrying those boxes, it seems like they are moving out. These days, I’ve seen them the neighbors/and have said hello to them.’”

4. La señora Navarro ha ido al mercado con su nieta y se encuentra con una amiga. La amiga le pregunta por su nieta y la señora Navarro le contesta emocionada.

La señora Navarro dice: “Es muy linda, ¿no? Estoy muy contenta con mi nieta, es mi adoración. Todos los días, la llevo a mi nieta/y la hago jugar.”

1 2 3 4 5

“Mrs. Navarro is in the market with her granddaughter, and they run into a friend. Her friend asks about her granddaughter and Mrs. Navarro answers very happily.

Mrs. Navarro says: ‘Isn’t she cute? I’m very happy with my granddaughter, she is adorable. Every day, I take her my granddaughter/and make her play.’”

5. Karina está tomando desayuno con su tío, que ha venido de viaje. El está muy sorprendido de ver que Karina come mucho a pesar de ser flaquita.

Karina dice: “Me gusta mucho comer pan con mantequilla. Son muy ricos los panes así y me puedo comer varios. Cada día, los como los panes/y tomo jugo de naranja.”

1 2 3 4 5

“Karina is having breakfast with her uncle, who is visiting. He is very surprised that Karina eats a lot even though she is really skinny.

Karina says: ‘I love to eat bread with butter. Bread is delicious like that and I can eat a lot of pieces. Every day, I eat them the bread pieces/and drink orange juice.’”

6. Oscar se ha comprado una bicicleta y pasea muy orgulloso con ella. Un amigo lo ve y le pregunta por su bicicleta.

Oscar dice: “Le compré esta bicicleta a un amigo porque estaba sin usar en su casa. Ahora, todos los días salgo y la uso la bicicleta/y paseo por el parque.”

1 2 3 4 5

“Oscar has bought a bike and is very proud riding on it. One of his friends sees him and asks about his bike.

Oscar says: ‘I bought this bike from a friend because he wasn’t using it. Now, every day I go out and use it the bike/and go around the park.’”

7. Bertha se está quejando de una señora que vive al frente de su casa porque hace mucha bulla. Ella quiere estudiar para sus exámenes, pero es imposible.

Bertha dice: “Esa señora es una escandalosa, le encanta gritar. Por ejemplo, le grita a su hijo menor, siempre lo llama a su hijo/y lo regaña.”

1 2 3 4 5

“Bertha is complaining about a lady who lives in front of her house because she is really noisy. Bertha wants to study for her exams, but it is impossible.

Bertha says: ‘That lady is so noisy, she loves to yell. For example, she yells at her youngest son, she always calls him her son/and scolds him.’”

8. El señor Jiménez está planeando una fiesta y quiere invitar a todos sus amigos. Está pensando contar unas diez personas en la familia de su amigo Rodolfo.

El señor Jiménez dice: “Rodolfo siempre llega con toda la familia a las fiestas, tiene un montón de hijas. Para esta fiesta, es seguro que él las lleva a sus hijas/y se quedan hasta el final.”

1 2 3 4 5

“Mr. Jiménez is planning a party and wants to invite all his friends. He is counting ten people in the family of his friend Rodolfo.

Mr. Jiménez says: ‘Rodolfo always comes with his whole family to parties, he has many daughters. For this party, I’m sure that he will bring them his daughters/and stay until the end.’”

9. La mamá de Irma vuelve de comprar y trae muchos paquetes. Irma le cuenta que el señor Gutiérrez también salió a comprar.

Irma dice: “Justo un rato después que te fuiste, me dijo que se iba a comprar también. Seguro que te lo encontraste al señor Gutiérrez/y lo saludaste.”

1 2 3 4 5

“Irma’s mom comes back from shopping and has a lot of packages. Her mom tells Irma that Mr. Gutiérrez was shopping too.

Irma says: ‘Yes, after you went out, he told me he was going shopping too. I’m sure that you run into him Mr. Gutiérrez/and said hello to him.’”

10. Héctor está ayudando a su hermana a ordenar la casa. Hay zapatos que su hermana quiere encontrar pero no aparecen todavía.

Héctor dice: “Hemos dado vueltas por toda la casa pero no están. De repente desaparecieron. Otro día los buscas los zapatos/y los guardas en un buen sitio.”

1 2 3 4 5

“Héctor is helping his sister to arrange things at home. His sister wants to find a pair of shoes but she hasn’t found them yet.

Hector says: ‘We’ve turned the house upside down but they’re not here. Maybe they disappeared. You can look for them the shoes/and keep them in a good place.’”

11. Dos amigos están conversando y uno de ellos ve una mancha en la camisa del otro. Los dos empiezan a examinar la mancha para saber cómo apareció allí.

Uno de ellos dice: “Parece que tu camisa se hubiera pintado con un tinte. ¿Cuándo lavó tu mamá? Seguro la lavó la camisa con otro color/y la mezcló con otro color.”

1 2 3 4 5

“Two friends are chatting and one of them sees a stain on the other one’s shirt. Both of them inspect the stain to know how it could have appeared there.

Of them says: ‘It seems that your shirt has been stained with some ink. When did your mom do laundry? I’m sure she washed it the shirt with another color/and mixed it with another color.’”

12. Valeria le está mostrando su nuevo osito de peluche a su amiga. Le cuenta que va con él para todos lados y que está muy contenta.

Valeria dice: “Todavía no sé qué nombre ponerle, pero estoy pensando. En las noches, cuando voy a dormir, lo pongo el osito en mi cama/en mi cama y lo abrazo.”

1 2 3 4 5

“Valeria is showing her new stuffed bear to her friend. She says that she takes the bear everywhere and is very happy with it.

Valeria says: ‘I don’t know what name to give it yet, but I’m thinking. At night, when I go to bed, I put it the bear in my bed/in my bed and hug him.’”

13. Gonzalo va a la costurera a preguntar por unos vestidos que su mamá encargó hace unos días. La costurera es una buena amiga de la familia.

Gonzalo dice: “Mi mamá está preocupada por los vestidos. Dice que son para las chicas, para la fiesta que habrá la próxima semana. Quiere saber si los tienes los vestidos listos/y puedo llevármelos.”

1 2 3 4 5

“Gonzalo goes to the dressmaker to ask for some dresses his mom ordered a few days ago. The dressmaker is a good friend of the family.

Gonzalo says: ‘My mom is worried about the dresses. She says they’re for the girls, for the party next week. She wants to know if you have them the dresses ready/and I can take them.’”

14. Tomás le está contando a su familia del problema que tiene un amigo suyo. Hay un grupo de chicas que siempre lo buscan para molestarlo y él no puede salir a la calle.

Tomás dice: “El pobre ya está traumatado. No quiere salir a la calle así. Dice que se ha vuelto algo de todos los días. Cada vez que sale, las encuentra a las chicas/y huye de ellas.”

1 2 3 4 5

“Tomás is telling his family about one of his friend’s problem. A bunch of girls are always bullying him and he can’t go out because of this.

Tomás says: ‘The poor guy is so scared. He doesn’t want to go out. He says it’s something that happens every day. Every time he goes out, he finds them the girls/and run away from them.’”

15. Dos amigas se encuentran y conversan sobre uno de los profesores que tuvieron cuando estaban en el colegio. Una de ellas vive cerca del colegio así que es fácil tener contacto con ellos aún.

Ella dice: “Todavía sigue trabajando en el colegio. ¿Te acuerdas de sus clases? A veces, cuando salgo a trabajar, lo veo al profesor/y lo saludo.”

1 2 3 4 5

“Two friends meet and talk about one of their teachers from school. One of them lives close to the school where they used to study and it is even easy for her to keep contact with them.

She says: ‘That teacher is still working at the school. Do you remember his classes? Sometimes, when I go out to work, I see him the teacher/and say hello to him.’”

16. Una pareja de esposos está haciendo arreglos para el día de hoy. La hija pequeña de ambos tiene una fiesta de cumpleaños y uno de ellos tiene que encargarse de eso.

El esposo dice: “Yo puedo ir con Rosita a la fiesta, pero acuérdate que después, tengo que hacer un trabajo muy lejos de allí. Sería mejor si tú la recoges a Rosita/y la llevas a la casa.”

1 2 3 4 5

“A couple is making plans for today. Their little daughter is invited to a birthday party and one of them has to be in charge of that.

The husband says: ‘I can take Rosita to the party, but remember that later, I have to do a job very far away from there. It would be better if you pick her up Rosita/and take her home.’”

17. Don Alberto regresa muy contento de la tienda donde arreglaron sus lentes. Su esposa quiere saber cómo le fue.

Don Alberto dice: “Ese señor que trabaja ahí en la tienda es muy bueno, sabe hacer su trabajo a la perfección. No sabes cómo los limpió los lentes/y los arregló.”

1 2 3 4 5

“Don Alberto comes back from the optician’s shop very happy because he got his glasses fixed. His wife wants to know how everything went.

Don Alberto says: ‘That guy who works over there is very good, he knows how to do his job perfectly. You don’t how he cleaned them the glasses/and fixed them.’”

18. Una niña le cuenta a su madre sobre un espectáculo que vio en la plaza del pueblo en la mañana. En la plaza, un mago estaba demostrando sus habilidades con las cartas.

La niña dice: “Parecía que volaban en el aire, era increíble!! Yo no sabía bien cómo hacía este truco. En un momento, las hizo volar las cartas/volar y desaparecer.”

1 2 3 4 5

“A little girl is telling his mother about a show she saw this morning in the town square. There was a magician showing his card tricks.

The girl says: ‘It seemed like cards were flying in the air, it was amazing! I didn’t know how he did it. In one instance, he made them the cards fly/fly and disappear.”

19. Elba les cuenta a sus amigas que su abuela es una excelente cocinera. Sabe hacer todo tipo de platos, sobre todo cuando usa pimienta.

Elba dice: “No sé cuál es su secreto, nunca nos quiere decir, pero siempre le queda delicioso. Debe ser que siempre lo cocina el pimienta/y lo adereza bien.”

1 2 3 4 5

“Elba is telling her friends that her grandma is an excellent cook. She cooks all kinds of dishes, especially dishes with pepper.

Elba says: ‘I don’t know what her secret is, she doesn’t want to tell us but it’s always delicious. It must be that she always cooks it the pepper/and season it very well.”

20. La hermana de Natalia se está quejando con ella de una vecina que tienen. La vecina es muy renegona y siempre le responde de mala manera.

La hermana de Natalia dice: “Yo no le hecho nada, pero siempre es lo mismo. Ya me da miedo pasar por ahí. Todos los días, la saludo a la señora y me grita/y me grita.”

1 2 3 4 5

“Natalia’s sister is complaining about their neighbor. That neighbor is very grumpy and always responds to her in a bad way.

Natalia’s sister says: ‘I haven’t done anything to her, but it is always the same. I’m even afraid of passing by her house. Every day, I say hello to her the lady and she yells at me/and she yells at me.’”

21. Zoila se encuentra con una amiga y ve que tiene dos bebés que son gemelos. Su amiga le cuenta cómo es su vida ahora que es madre.

La amiga dice: “Es verdad que mi vida ha cambiado un montón en estos últimos meses. Ahora, tan luego me levanto en la mañana, los cambio a los bebés y les doy de comer/y les doy de comer.”

1 2 3 4 5

“Zoila meets a friend and sees that she has twin babies. Her friend tells Zoila about how her life is now that she is a mom.

Her friend says: ‘It’s true that my life has changed a lot these past months. Now, right after I wake up in the morning, I change them the babies and feed them/and feed them.’”

22. Samuel está de visita en casa de un amigo y conversa con la hija mayor, que tiene ocho años. Ella tiene dos hermanitas más pequeñas.

Samuel dice: “Ustedes siempre están jugando juntas, no? Pero también veo que tú eres la más grande, qué bueno que siempre las cuidas a tus hermanitas/y juegas con ellas.”

1 2 3 4 5

“Samuel is visiting a friend and is talking with the eldest daughter, who is eight years old. She has two younger sisters.

Samuel says: ‘You girls are always playing together, right? And you are the biggest sister, it’s good that you always take care of them your little sisters/and play with them.’”

APPENDIX G

CONSENT FORMS

Informed Consent

Your daughter/son is invited to participate in a study, conducted under the supervision of Professor Anna Maria Escobar, a faculty member in the Department of Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese, University of Illinois. This research investigates how people retell stories and it is conducted by Claudia Crespo del Rio, a graduate student in the Department of Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese.

If you agree that your daughter/son is able to participate, she/he will be asked to complete two tests consisting of a language background questionnaire and a set of questions about a fictitious story. These tests should last approximately 30 minutes.

During the second test, her/his voice will be recorded, and she/he will be aware at all times that her/his voice is being recorded. The audio files will be saved on a password protected computer accessible only to the researcher and her/his name will be switched for a number for the data transcription. The audio recording will not be played at any conference.

Participation in this study is strictly voluntary. There are no risks or discomforts expected as a result of your participation and you are free to withdraw at any time without consequence of penalty. This study does not involve any additional risks that you would not encounter in everyday life. Your decision to allow your child to participate won't affect your child's academic status or relationship with the school.

You are encouraged to ask any questions that you may have before, during or after her/his participation. If you have any questions, please contact the researcher, Claudia Crespo, via e-mail at ccrespo2@illinois.edu. Or you may contact the Responsible Project Investigator, Professor Anna Maria Escobar, via e-mail at aescobar@illinois.edu.

I understand the above information. By signing this form, I voluntarily consent (to allow my child) to participate in the study described above. I have been offered a copy of this consent form.

_____ I voluntarily consent (to allow my child) to participate in this study.

_____ I DO NOT consent (to allow my child) to participate in this study.

Printed Name

Signature

Date

If you have any questions about your child's rights as a participant in this study or any concerns or complaints, please contact the University of Illinois Institutional Review Board at 217-333-2670 (collect calls will be accepted if you identify yourself as a research participant) or via email at irb@illinois.edu

Informed Assent

You are invited to participate in a study, conducted under the supervision of Professor Anna Maria Escobar, a faculty member in the Department of Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese, University of Illinois. This research investigates how people retell stories and it is conducted by Claudia Crespo del Rio, a graduate student in the Department of Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese.

If you agree to participate, you will be asked to complete two tests consisting of a language background questionnaire and a set of questions about a fictitious story. These tests should last approximately 30 minutes.

During the second test, your voice will be recorded, and you will be aware at all times that your voice is being recorded. The audio files will be saved on a password protected computer accessible only to the researcher and your name will be switched for a number for the data transcription. The audio recording will not be played at any conference.

Participation in this study is strictly voluntary. There are no risks or discomforts expected as a result of your participation and you are free to withdraw at any time without consequence of penalty. This study does not involve any additional risks that you would not encounter in everyday life. Your decision to participate, decline or withdraw from participation won't affect your grades or status at your school.

You are encouraged to ask any questions that you may have before, during or after your participation. If you have any questions, please contact the researcher, Claudia Crespo, via e-mail at ccrespo2@illinois.edu. Or you may contact the Responsible Project Investigator, Professor Anna Maria Escobar, via e-mail at aescobar@illinois.edu.

I understand the above information. By signing this form, I voluntarily assent to participate in the study described above. I have been offered a copy of this assent form.

_____ I agree to participate in this study.

_____ I DO NOT agree to participate in this study.

Printed Name

Signature

Date

If you have any questions about your rights as a participant in this study or any concerns or complaints, please contact the University of Illinois Institutional Review Board at 217-333-2670 (collect calls will be accepted if you identify yourself as a research participant) or via email at irb@illinois.edu

APPENDIX H
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Acc	Accusative
Adverb	Adverbializer
Cond	Conditional
Dat	Dative
Dir	Direction
Ev	Evidential marker
Fem	Feminine
Fut	Future
Gen	Genitive
Imp	Imperfect
Ind	Indicative
Inf	Infinitive
Masc	Masculine
Neg	Negation
Nomin	Nominalizer
Obj	Object
Obl	Oblique
Past	Past
Perf	Perfect
Pl	Plural
Pluperf	Pluperfect
Pos	Possessive
Pres	Present
Sg	Singular
Subj	Subjunctive
1	First person
2	Second person
3	Third person